

The Global Newspaper  
Edited and Published  
in Paris  
Printed simultaneously in Paris,  
London, Zurich, Hong Kong,  
Singapore, The Hague, Marseille,  
New York, Rome, Tokyo, Frankfurt.

# INTERNATIONAL Herald Tribune

Published With The New York Times and The Washington Post

No. 33,431

34/90

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PARIS, TUESDAY, AUGUST 21, 1990

ESTABLISHED 1887



An 82d Airborne Division trooper on guard in the Saudi desert with a U.S. flag on his weapon.

## 'America Will Not Be Intimidated' Bush Warns Iraq on Hostages

By Paul F. Horvitz  
International Herald Tribune

WASHINGTON — Calling foreigners held in Iraq and Kuwait "hostages" for the first time, President George Bush issued a stern warning to Iraq on Monday, saying that the government of Saddam Hussein would be held responsible for the safety of detained Americans.

"America will not be intimidated," the president declared in a speech to war veterans in Baltimore in which he called on Iraq to immediately release all foreigners.

"When Saddam Hussein specifically offers to trade the freedom of those citizens of many nations he holds against their will in return for concessions, there can be little doubt that whatever these innocent people are called, they are in fact hostages," Mr. Bush said.

The president's use of the word "hostage" represented more than a semantic shift in the Gulf crisis. It placed the well-being of an estimated 2,500 detained Americans squarely and publicly into the context of the military face-off between Iraq and the United States. Implicit in Mr. Bush's remarks was the threat of a forceful American reaction if the hostages were harmed.

For days, American officials had resisted using the word "hostage," apparently out of concern that yet another hos-

tag crisis would overshadow U.S. efforts to focus world attention on the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and dampen American resolve to act.

But as Iraq began rounding up Westerners and moving some to vital military targets as human shields against

### Related Articles

The Soviet foreign minister said Monday that parts of Saddam Hussein's conditional offer to release Westerners deserved attention. Page 4.

The UN Security Council is considering a multinational force, but the Chinese have reservations. Page 4.

Kohl failed to win support for sending troops, and Japan delayed a decision on how to help the blockade. Page 5.

possible attack, U.S. officials could no longer play down the gravity of the situation.

"I want there to be no misunderstanding," the president said. "I will hold the government of Iraq responsible for the safety and well-being of American citizens held against their will."

Later, in speech at a Republican Party fund-raising affair in Rhode Island, Mr. Bush used his strongest language yet to

describe Mr. Hussein, calling him a man "who has no values when it comes to international law, a man of evil, standing against human life itself."

The president repeatedly described the U.S. effort in the Gulf as a moral cause — "this noble effort," he said at one point — and spoke of "our bid to provide a moral compass for the rest of the world."

"No sane person likes the specter of confrontation," Mr. Bush said. "It was not with passionate haste, but really with a heavy heart, that I had to commit our troops to Saudi Arabia. I took this action not out of some national hunger for conflict but out of the moral responsibility, shared by so many committed nations around the world, to protect our world from fundamental evil."

The speech in Baltimore was notable for its patriotic fervor and its politically partisan defense against "budget slashers" who might threaten the viability of what the president called America's "lean, mean fighting machine."

Mr. Bush offered no new diplomatic initiatives in his speech, delivered at the national convention of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. But for the third time since the Aug. 2 invasion of Kuwait he summoned the imagery of World War

See BUSH, Page 4

## Emirates Accept Deployment of U.S. Forces in Anti-Iraq Coalition

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches  
ABU DHABI — The United Arab Emirates has agreed to the deployment of U.S. forces on its territory and Defense Secretary Dick Cheney said Monday that C-130 transport planes were already operating from the emirates.

The federation on Sunday announced it would become the second Gulf state after Saudi Arabia to accept the deployment of foreign troops on its territory. "I am especially pleased that U.S. forces are among those accepted by the

U.A.E. in defense of the Gulf," Mr. Cheney said at the end of a tour.

As Mr. Cheney spoke, there appeared to be no resolution of the question of how to handle two Iraqi oil tankers that were defying the U.S. naval interdiction program.

A Pentagon official said the two tankers, one in the Gulf and the other in the Gulf of Oman, were continuing to move south and would be monitored by U.S. warships.

The two had ignored warning shots

fired Saturday by U.S. ships seeking to enforce the UN embargo and no further action was taken. U.S. officials were believed to be waiting for a vote on a UN resolution supporting the interdiction program before ordering more forceful action.

In the United Arab Emirates, the huge port facilities at Abu Dhabi, Dubai and Jebel Ali and its three international airports could be of great value, given the scale and likely duration of the Western military buildup in the Gulf.

A government spokesman said Sunday the emirates would allow Arab forces and those from "friendly" nations to be stationed in the emirates as part of an international effort to protect Gulf states against Iraq.

About 5,000 troops from Egypt, Morocco, and Syria have been dispatched to Saudi Arabia after Iraq's invasion of Kuwait.

"President Bush has emphasized that our defensive efforts of the past few weeks apply to all our friends in the

Gulf, including the United Arab Emirates," Mr. Cheney said, adding that the United States was committed to staying "as long as we are needed."

Mr. Cheney arrived here on a Gulf tour that has already taken him to Saudi Arabia and Bahrain.

Defense ministers in the six-nation Gulf Cooperation Council are expected to meet Wednesday in Saudi Arabia to discuss coordinating policies.

The United Arab Emirates is a mem-

ber of the council, which also groups Saudi Arabia, Oman, Qatar, Bahrain and Kuwait. The six nations are bound by a joint defense pact.

The United Arab Emirates, established as an independent federated state when Britain withdrew its permanent military forces from the Gulf countries in 1971, is comprised of the sheikhdoms of Abu Dhabi, Dubai, Sharjah, Umm al

See DEPLOY, Page 4

## Baghdad: Don't Hide Westerners

By John Kifner  
New York Times Service

CAIRO — Western hostages have been moved to potential military targets as human shields, Iraq announced Monday, warning its own citizens that they would be severely punished if they tried to hide foreigners.

At least 203 foreigners, including 12 Americans taken from three hotels in Kuwait, were believed to have been transported to military or industrial sites by Monday night.

The government of President Saddam Hussein sought to round up the more than 10,000 Westerners trapped in Iraq and occupied Kuwait as protection against any bombing attack by the growing U.S.-led forces in the Gulf, according to reports monitored here.

"The foreign guests of Iraq have indeed been hosted in various vital and military installations," a spokesman for the Iraqi parliament told the Iraqi News Agency. The announcement gave no numbers.

"They have been provided with modern amenities and they all enjoy good health," the spokesman was quoted as saying in a report transmitted by INA's wire service.

As the roundup went on, the Baghdad radio broadcast an official warning to Iraqis not to hide foreigners.

"Hiding a foreigner in an Iraqi place of residence is considered a flagrant violation of the law, for which the severest punishment will be given," the broadcast said.

[The parliamentary spokesman drew a parallel with the U.S. internment of ethnic Japanese in World War II, Reuters reported.]

"We note and remind the people of the world that during World War II the United States held around 100,000 of its own citizens of Japanese origin in special detention camps in anticipation of a further Japanese attack," he said. "The United States did not take such a measure against its citizens of German, Italian or any other origin."

[He did not refer to the bombing of U.S. Navy bases in Hawaii that launched the war with Japan.]

Iraqi officials said Saturday that the roughly 9,000 Westerners in Kuwait and

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## A Lone Superpower: Defining the Limits

By R.W. Apple Jr.  
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — The obituaries were a bit premature.

There is still one superpower in the world, and it is the United States. More than any other country in the world, its interests, its exposure and its reach are global, as the events of the last two weeks have demonstrated so vividly.

Washington is not the backwater that it seemed to some when the action was all in the streets of Prague or at the Berlin Wall.

But as the Iraqi leader, Saddam Hussein, has revealed in reminding everyone, the costs of maintaining such status can be enormous, and not only in terms of national treasure.

The lives of thousands of civilian hostages have been put at risk in the Middle East, to say nothing of those of tens of thousands of soldiers, sailors and airmen. Even then, it is not clear that United States arms and diplomacy will achieve President George Bush's goals.

There are inescapable limits on what even superpowers can accomplish, and if they overreach, or fail, doubt and irresolution often follow.

Other harsh realities are easy to forget in the heat of the moment. The dispatch of American military power to the Middle East was made more urgent because the United States has allowed itself to become heavily dependent on foreign oil. The show of force was useful, furthermore, precisely because some people had begun to doubt American will in the post-Cold War era.

Still, even in a hot, humid month when much of Washington is on vacation, there is a rush of excitement in the air here. In news bureaus and Pentagon of-

fices, dining rooms and lobbyists' hangouts, the fever is back — the heavy speculation, the avid gossip, the gung-ho, here's-where-it's-happening spirit, that marks the city when it grapples with great events.

Only a month ago, after the summit conferences in London and in Houston, after President Mikhail S. Gorbachev of the Soviet Union and Chancellor Helmut Kohl of West Germany concluded a deal that the White House knew nothing of, it seemed clear that some of the power the United States has wielded in the postwar era was slipping away.

The soon-to-be-united Germany and a stunningly wealthy Japan went their

own ways on important questions, with Mr. Bush, making a virtue of a necessity, graciously wishing them well.

In a world suddenly escaped from the shadow of nuclear confrontation between East and West, economic strength was king, diplomats and politicians said, and that made it harder for the United States, militarily strong but struggling with fiscal problems, to exercise political leadership.

The crisis in the Gulf has demonstrated that all of that is valid, but only to a limited extent, only in some places on some issues.

"It is most certainly true," said Representative Lee H. Hamilton, Democrat of Indiana, a leading spokesman for his party on foreign policy issues, "that there has been a remarkable diffusion of power in the world. No one is the unchallenged boss everywhere, on everything, and no one is likely to hold that

See FORCE, Page 4



President Bush reading a paper as he left the White House with his aides Monday to deliver a speech in Baltimore.

## Challenge for U.S. Diplomacy: Holding an Uneasy Alliance Together

By Rick Atkinson  
and David Hoffman  
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — The Bush administration, after building a vast and often improbable network of allies through two weeks of adroit diplomacy, now faces the daunting task of sustaining the coalition against Iraq, perhaps for months, in the face of centrifugal forces that could pull it apart.

Through persuasion, pleas and pres-

sure, the administration has welded dozens of disparate national interests into a

### NEWS ANALYSIS

common crusade aimed at forcing Iraq out of Kuwait. This loose confederation unites East and West, rich and poor, traditional U.S. allies and erstwhile U.S. foes — notably Syria and the Soviet Union.

Yet putting the coalition together may

have been the easy part, administration and congressional officials say.

Representative Lee H. Hamilton, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East, said, "What's drawn the disparate parties together — the Soviets, the Arabs, the Americans, the Europeans and the rest of the world community — is the shared assessment that Iraq's invasion represents a threat to common security."

In simplest terms, most of the world has embraced a version of the U.S. government's argument that President Saddam Hussein of Iraq is a menacing out-

"A lot of things could happen that would threaten that consensus," the Indiana Democrat said. "You have to keep a lid on the outbreak of war. You've got to try to maintain the embargo without using a lot of firepower. Time does not work for us here. Any sanction effort is subject to strains."

But the bathos was widely reported to be under construction in the future office of Shunichi Suzuki, the longtime governor of the metropolitan area, in the granite behemoth that will become the \$850-million city hall. The 48-story building, the tallest in Japan, will mirror Mr. Suzuki's vision of Tokyo as a place of power and wealth.

But the bathos became a symbol of a widely held view that, perhaps this time, the 79-year-old governor had gone a little too far.

Finally, this summer, Suzuki sides invited reporters in to see that there was no bathtub at all, let alone a marble one. "It's a shower the size of a phone booth," said the director of construction, Yukio Ikazayama. "We hope this vicious rumor has finished."

The legends have only begun, however, because the three-story complex is a reflection of the stresses borne by a capital exploding with wealth and energy but still searching for a distinctive skyline.

Part of the reason that Tokyo has no big landmarks is

partly because of criticism over the opulence of the new building.

Political circles are alive with rumors that he may decide to retire, or might face a stiff electoral challenge next year from Takako Doi, a Socialist leader who has been running unsuccessfully for prime minister. Many say she could win easily in a run for the governorship.

The city hall, however, did not rise out of nowhere. It is an important part of the decentralization of Tokyo's vital functions to ease traffic and subway congestion.

Yet, even that step is controversial.

The building is going up in the western Shinjuku neighborhood, long known as the heart of Japan's biggest and most notorious red-light district.

No part of the city has changed more dramatically in the last two decades, however. With more than a dozen large corporate headquarters buildings, Shinjuku is often called Tokyo's second downtown, with shops, department stores and movie theaters.

Amid the bars, discos and sex shows, there is talk not that the new complex will wipe out the sleazy operations that draw tens of thousands of patrons nightly, but will, in fact, give them a new lease on life.

fragile. Will Moscow remain staunch, for example, if the 8,000 Soviet citizens now in Iraq and Kuwait are permitted to leave? How stalwart would Egypt remain if Mr. Hussein launched a wave of terrorist attacks and intensified his appeal for fundamentalist Islamic unity?

What impact would televised pictures of starving hostages have on European resolve? An administration official said last

See DIPLOMACY, Page 4

## Iraqis Order All Embassies Shut in Kuwait

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches  
NICOSIA — Iraq ordered foreign diplomats in occupied Kuwait on Monday to close their missions by the end of the week, the official Iraqi news agency, INA, reported.

It quoted a Foreign Ministry spokesman as saying: "Diplomats who do not abide by this decision will be treated, effective Saturday, August 25, as ordinary foreign nationals."

To treat diplomats as ordinary citizens would be to withdraw their diplomatic immunity and make them subject to Iraqi law, including, presumably, detention. Under international law, accredited diplomats are exempt from local statutes. Their persons and homes are considered inviolable.

Several countries said they had no plans to close their embassies. They included Austria, Britain, Denmark, Finland, France, Italy, Spain, Sweden, the Soviet Union and West Germany.

Several other foreign countries, including those of Japan and the United States, had already told their diplomats in Kuwait to stay put after earlier Iraqi warnings.

The news agency said Iraq notified foreign diplomatic missions in Baghdad on Aug. 9 that it wanted foreign missions closed in Kuwait following the invasion

See IRAQ, Page 4

### Klosk

#### Drinking Pilots Found Guilty

MINNEAPOLIS (AP) — Three former Northwest Airlines pilots were found guilty Monday of flying while intoxicated, the first convictions under a new federal law cracking down on drinking and drug use in commercial transportation.

A federal jury convicted Norman L. Prouse, 51, of Conyers, Georgia; Robert Kirchner, 36, of Highland Ranch, Colorado; and Joseph Balzer, 35, of Antioch, Tennessee. The felony charge carries a maximum 15 years in prison and \$250,000 fine. Sentencing will not be decided until au-

thorities complete a presentence investigation. Appeals are expected.

#### General News

Township violence in South Africa has economic, political and tribal roots. Page 2.

#### Business/Finance

World oil prices rose Monday when OPEC did not call an emergency meeting. Page 9.

Dow Jones	The Dollar
Up 11.64	DM 1.5655
2,656.44	Yen 1.913
	Yen 146.42
	FF 5.261

Crossword Page 8.

## Tale of a Tub: Moral for Identity-Hungry Tokyo

By Steven R. Weisman  
New York Times Service

TOKYO — For the city fathers here, this is the year of the "marble bathtub."

The bathtub was widely reported to be under construction in the future office of Shunichi Suzuki, the longtime governor of the metropolitan area, in the granite behemoth that will become the \$850-million city hall. The 48-story building, the tallest in Japan, will mirror Mr. Suzuki's vision of Tokyo as a place of power and wealth.

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# Mismanmanagement Has Soviet Agriculture Dying on the Vine

By Bill Keller  
New York Times Service

MOSCOW — When the first reports from the Soviet grain belt reached Moscow early this summer, it seemed that fate had at last taken pity on the famished economy of President Mikhail S. Gorbachev.

Wheat had burst from the soil of Russia, the Ukraine, Byelorussia and Kazakhstan in such profusion that some government optimists began to speculate about the country becoming self-sufficient in food for the first time in decades.

But Moscow's hope has soured into anxiety, and the anxiety to near despair, as the reckless Soviet agricultural system fumbles the process of putting nature's bounty onto the dinner tables.

In a desperate attempt to prevent the crop from spoiling on the ground, 100,000 troops have been mobilized, factory workers and students exhorted to the fields, states of emergency decreed in many farm districts, directives issued, new incentives enacted — apparently to little avail.

By mid-August, halfway through the harvest season, the government reported that the grain was being cut at only three-fourths the rate of last year. The lag in the vegetable harvest was visible in the barren state grocery stores and in astronomical fruit and vegetable prices in farmers' markets.

Officials say the country's farmers have grown enough this year to exceed the record 237-million-ton harvest of 1978, but there is increasing anxiety that the final total, measured by shipments to market, will fall short of that potential.

The preliminary estimates of the grain wasted from what one Soviet writer called "this catastrophically rich harvest" was 40 million tons — roughly equal to the amount of grain the Soviet Union will import this year with its desperately scarce reserves of foreign money.

"This year God gave us a good harvest, and we are unable to gather it," wailed Prime Minister Nikolai I. Ryzhkov, his voice verging on hysteria during a televised emergency meeting of his Council of Ministers early this month.

"If we fail, then what purpose are we serving, those of us sitting here and the local authorities?" asked Mr. Ryzhkov, whose position as Mr. Gorbachev's head of government is already precarious.

One failure of farming Communist-style is a communal approach to owning and working the land, an approach that has stifled initiative.

Another failure, exposed by this summer's embarrassment of riches, is a command-driven food industry that assures that even when nature does provide, much of its bounty will be spilled on the way from field to consumer.

The losses the Soviets tolerate in normal years —

about 15 percent of the grain and 30 percent of the vegetables — "would be considered disastrous" in the United States or Canada, said one Western agricultural specialist here.

Moreover, in this time of social disintegration, the built-in weaknesses of the system have been further aggravated by ethnic unrest, the breakdown of discipline and the disruption of old economic arrangements. A system based on commands, the Soviet food industry is learning this summer, only works so long as people obey.

The Soviet food industry leaks at each stage in the trip from collective farm to state-run market, but about half of the losses occur on the farm itself, a result of inadequate machinery and manpower, officials say.

The overall slowdown of the Soviet economy has left harvesting combines stranded for lack of batteries, spare parts and fuel.

According to Vladimir V. Nikitin, chairman of the State Commission on Foodstuffs, one-fifth of the serviceable harvesters have no drivers — a result of the mass exodus that yearly takes a million people from the impoverished countryside to the slightly less impoverished cities.

The harvest usually depends on crash teams of extra hands mobilized from factories, schools and military bases.

In effect, part of the industrial sector takes a holiday

so that machinists, bookkeepers and doctors can do stoop labor on the farms.

This has always been casual labor in the most literal sense of the word. A reporter who dropped in unannounced one morning at the barracks of temporary workers at a grain elevator near Kaluga, in central Russia, found the crew all giggling drunk on watery beer, half an hour before their shift began.

This year the enthusiasm for the harvest campaign is lower than ever. The rubles paid for stoop labor do not buy much any more, and the Communist Party network responsible for mustering the seasonal work force has lost much of its authority.

Vegetable farms, which are especially dependent on seasonal guest workers, report that helpers are showing up at only one-fifth the usual rate.

Once the crop is out of the ground, most of it is to be delivered to the government in fulfillment of state contracts, for distribution to the bakeries and feedlots and state-run grocery stores.

But another new hitch in that farms are increasingly reluctant to surrender their goods.

One reason is the quirky state-run price system. A collective farmer near Kaluga gave the following example:

The state price on grain last year was so low that the farm lost money on every ton. The state price on milk, however, produced a big profit. The logical conclusion: neglect the state and keep the grain to feed the cows.

## WORLD BRIEFS

### Pakistanis Escalate Kashmir Dispute

NEW DELHI (NYT) — Pakistani troops fired artillery Monday at Indian Army positions in the disputed state of Jammu and Kashmir, the Indian Defense Ministry said.

A ministry statement said, "Exchange of small arms fire across the line of control is a frequent occurrence, but the Pakistani forces have used heavy artillery today."

The ministry said that the attack, believed to be the heaviest in recent months, took place in the Kupwara area and that Indian forces had responded by taking "appropriate defensive measures." In Islamabad, a Defense Ministry spokesman denied that Pakistanis had fired at Indian troops.

### Marcos Stash in Switzerland Pursued

MANILA (AP) — A legislator began a movement Monday to retrieve millions of dollars allegedly stolen by the former president, Ferdinand E. Marcos, and deposited in Switzerland.

Senator Agapito Aquino, brother-in-law of President Corason C. Aquino, said he would pressure the Swiss authorities to return Marcos' "illegitimate wealth" because the government had failed to do so through litigation. The Aquino government accuses Mr. Marcos of having stolen up to \$10 billion from the national treasury during his 20-year rule. He died in Hawaii in September.

Mr. Aquino said that the Swiss Ministry of Justice had disclosed that Mr. Marcos kept at least \$500 million in various Swiss accounts. "We must do something else," he said. "We must move. This money is already there, and it is ours. So we are appealing to the righteous people of Switzerland."

### QE2 Aids Drifting Oil-Rig 'Hotel'

AARHUS, Denmark (Reuters) — A Norwegian floating dormitory for oil workers with 49 men aboard broke adrift in the North Sea on Monday and the ocean liner Queen Elizabeth 2 changed course briefly to help rescue efforts. It later resumed its cruise.

A Danish Coast Guard official said the West Gamma accommodation platform broke its moorings shortly before noon and was being pushed east-southeast by winds of nearly 90 miles (145 kilometers) an hour. By early evening, the platform was drifting at three to four knots and was about 90 miles west of the Danish port of Esbjerg.

The QE2 changed course in answer to distress calls. It has a helicopter platform and was put in charge of rescue operations, the coast guard official said. Later, he said the storm had moderated and a tug near the platform hoped to get a towline on it late Monday to hold it steady until the weather improved.

### 7 Die as Rival Shiites Clash in Beirut

BEIRUT (AP) — Rival Shiite Muslim factions fought artillery and rocket battles in Beirut's southern shims Monday, killing seven people and wounding 26, police said.

The clashes, which broke out at dawn, pitted the pro-Iranian fundamentalist Hezbollah against the more secular Syrian-backed Amal militia.

Syrian troops, in charge of security of western and southern Beirut, moved in five hours later and separated the combatants. At least 218 people have died and 578 have been wounded in similar confrontations since July 16.

### At Least 5 Die in Armenian Attacks

MOSCOW (APF) — At least five people have been killed and several were injured in new clashes along the Armenia-Azerbaijan border, the Interfax and Tass news agencies reported Monday.

Armenians opened fire Sunday on a bus in Azerbaijan, near the Armenian border, killing a policeman and seriously wounding three others. Two of the wounded died Monday, Interfax said. An Armenian was killed in a battle with security forces after the bus attack.

Later on, a police lieutenant was killed when six Azerbaijani villages were attacked, forcing villagers to flee, Interfax said. Intense firing continued all day Sunday from across the border in Armenia and resumed Monday morning, it added. Six helicopters were called in elsewhere in Azerbaijan on Sunday to quell two other attacks. The sudden flare-up of violence appears to be connected to alleged taking of Armenian hostages by Azerbaijanis.

### 15 Killed in Warsaw Train Collision

WARSAW (AP) — A train from Prague plowed into a slow-moving domestic train on the outskirts of Warsaw on Monday, killing 15 people and injuring more than 40, the P.A.P. news agency said.

The last passenger coach of the domestic train, struck from behind, was lifted off the track by the force of the crash, and the other train's locomotive tipped through the coach's undercarriage as it passed underneath.

The news agency said that the Czechoslovak train was traveling at about 100 kilometers per hour (60 miles per hour) when it hit the other train, which was moving at about 25 kilometers per hour. Officials said it was not clear what caused the early morning crash.

### Drug War Lags in Peru and Bolivia

WASHINGTON (WP) — U.S. anti-drug efforts have made virtually no headway in disrupting cocaine trade in Peru and Bolivia, a congressional study says, in part because Drug Enforcement Administration operations have been repeatedly undermined by corruption in the armed services of both countries.

The study, by the House Government Operations Committee, concluded that the drug agency should avoid further risk to its agents and "redirect" its efforts away from paramilitary-style raids in the Peruvian and Bolivian jungles.

The report, scheduled for release Monday, is the latest congressional study to raise questions about Operation Snowcap, the 3½-year-old program of dispatching U.S. drug agents to lead local police on strikes against clandestine airstrips, processing facilities and other drug-trafficking operations.

## TRAVEL UPDATE

### Bomb Cuts Railroad Line in Spain

LEON, Spain (AP) — A bomb believed set by the Basque separatist group ETA severed a train track in northern Spain on Monday, the fourth such blast in a week, a railroad official said. No one was injured.

The explosion occurred some 50 kilometers (30 miles) north of Leon. The line was open at the time of the blast, although no trains were nearby, the official said. She said service between Leon and Gijón was being continued along an alternate route.

## WEATHER

EUROPE				ASIA			
	HIGH	LOW	PRECIP.		HIGH	LOW	PRECIP.
Amsterdam	12	8	0	Bangkok	32	24	0
Athens	24	16	0	Beijing	28	16	0
Berlin	18	10	0	Hong Kong	30	22	0
Bombay	32	24	0	Manila	30	22	0
Buenos Aires	24	16	0	Osaka	28	20	0
Calcutta	32	24	0	Sao Paulo	28	20	0
Cairo	32	24	0	Shanghai	28	20	0
Cardiff	12	8	0	Tokyo	28	20	0
Chennai	32	24	0				
Copenhagen	12	8	0	AFRICA			
Dakar	32	24	0				
Dublin	12	8	0	Algiers	32	24	0
Edinburgh	12	8	0	Cairo	32	24	0
Geneva	12	8	0	Harare	32	24	0
Helsinki	12	8	0	Lima	32	24	0
London	12	8	0	Managua	32	24	0
Lyon	12	8	0	Medan	32	24	0
Madrid	12	8	0	Port of Spain	32	24	0
Moscow	12	8	0	Rabat	32	24	0
Munich	12	8	0	San Jose	32	24	0
Nairobi	32	24	0	Santiago	32	24	0
Paris	12	8	0	Teheran	32	24	0
Prague	12	8	0	Tripoli	32	24	0
Rangoon	32	24	0				
Reykjavik	12	8	0	LATIN AMERICA			
Rome	12	8	0				
Stockholm	12	8	0	Buenos Aires	32	24	0
Strasbourg	12	8	0	Caracas	32	24	0
Vienna	12	8	0	Guatemala	32	24	0
Zurich	12	8	0	La Paz	32	24	0
MIDDLE EAST				NORTH AMERICA			
Abuja	32	24	0	Atlanta	32	24	0
Algiers	32	24	0	Boston	32	24	0
Amman	32	24	0	Chicago	32	24	0
Ankara	32	24	0	Columbus	32	24	0
Antananarivo	32	24	0	Dallas	32	24	0
Asmara	32	24	0	Denver	32	24	0
Bahia	32	24	0	Detroit	32	24	0
Bamako	32	24	0	Houston	32	24	0
Bangkok	32	24	0	Los Angeles	32	24	0
Beijing	32	24	0	Managua	32	24	0
Bombay	32	24	0	Medan	32	24	0
Buenos Aires	32	24	0	Port of Spain	32	24	0
Calcutta	32	24	0	Rabat	32	24	0
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Chennai	32	24	0	Teheran	32	24	0
Copenhagen	12	8	0	Tripoli	32	24	0
Dakar	32	24	0				
Dublin	12	8	0	OCEANIA			
Edinburgh	12	8	0				
Geneva	12	8	0	Auckland	32	24	0
Helsinki	12	8	0	Christchurch	32	24	0
London	12	8	0	Dunedin	32	24	0
Lyon	12	8	0	Hamilton	32	24	0
Madrid	12	8	0	Wellington	32	24	0
Moscow	12	8	0				
Munich	12	8	0				
Nairobi	32	24	0				
Paris	12	8	0				
Prague	12	8	0				
Rangoon	32	24	0				
Reykjavik	12	8	0				
Rome	12	8	0				
Stockholm	12	8	0				
Strasbourg	12	8	0				
Vienna	12	8	0				
Zurich	12	8	0				

## The Tangled Roots Of Black Violence

Economics and Politics in Townships Combine With Deep Tribal Rivalries

By Alan Cowell  
New York Times Service

VOSLOORUS, South Africa — The recent bloodletting in black townships surrounding Johannesburg stems from divisions with deep roots in South Africa's past.

The divisions in this unlovely black township and others nearby in the gold-mining area called the East Rand were implanted long before the current spasm of carnage and have been overlaid with the newer rivalries of a political struggle for pre-eminence.

In Vosloorus, as elsewhere, the low lines of barracks-like, ethnically segregated hostels for workers between divisive labor practices that have drawn men without families to the mines and riches of the area since the metal was discovered here in 1886.

In nearby Thokoza township the squatter camp called Phola Park shows a newer reality: the rush to the cities that pits newly arrived rural immigrants against long-established urban dwellers in the competition for jobs.

The labels attached to each of Thokoza's subdivisions, where the longer-term residents live, reflect the spirit for political turf that has seized the land since the African

National Congress was legalized and its leader, Nelson Mandela, was freed from prison in February.

"Over here is the Joe Slovo section," said a spare 23-year-old man who identified himself as Comrade David Olanfin. The reference was to the leader of the ANC's close ally, the South African Communist Party, also legalized in February.

"This is the Joe Modise section," he said, gesturing to small, newly built homes. Mr. Modise is the commander of the ANC's guerrilla army.

The titles reflect a commitment to the ANC that separates the township's residents from the Zulu workers in the hostels, who are seen as allied to the Inkatha movement of Chief Mangosuthu Buthe.

"The hostel dwellers never really became integrated into the township community," said Lauren Segal, a researcher at the Project for the Study of Violence at Johannesburg's Witwatersrand University. "And there is a competition between hostel dwellers and squatters for resources."

That, in a way, helped breed the notion of the hostels as ethnic fortresses that has played such a central role in last week's violence. When the fighting spread to



Supporters of the African National Congress searching hostels in Kwaithema township for members of the rival Inkatha movement.

Soweto from the East Rand last week, "the hostel was used by its Zulu residents as a military establishment from where attacks were planned and initiated," Miss Segal said in an article she wrote with other researchers that was published in The Sunday Star of Johannesburg.

"And when the residents faced a counterattack by young 'comrades,' the hostel became a fortress in which to retreat," she wrote. In the East Rand there are other

complexities. Since the repeal of legislation in 1986 that was supposed to limit black migration into urban South Africa, hundreds of thousands of people have filled the already cramped hostels in some places or built crude squatter settlements of zinc and plastic.

In Thokoza, community workers and squatters told how an uneasy coexistence broke down in the face of tension and bloodshed, revealing raw ethnic passions. Blessing Cebisa, 32, a law gradu-

ate and social worker, said that before the fighting "the squatters used to go into the hostel for water, and there was no friction."

Some migrants had wives and girlfriends living in the Phola Park squatter camp. A domestic servant who identified herself as Mimi told up the story.

"When the fighting started," she said, "the men from the hostels told the Zulu women to leave. They wanted all the Zulus on one side, and all the Xhosa on the other."

The alignment reflects South Africa's demography: Zulus and Xhosa are the nation's two biggest ethnic groups, and apartheid sought to anchor both of them in tribal homelands.

But roughly one million members of each group live in urban South Africa, according to the South African Institute of Race Relations.

Beyond the flare-up, other economic tensions are straining ties between the township's components — squatters, long-term residents and migrants — Mr. Cebisa said.

When the fighting started, though, tribal and political distinctions forced choices on many who had not wished to make them. "When you are a Zulu, even if

you are not Inkatha, people say you must be Inkatha," said Felix Khumalo, a resident of one hostel in Vosloorus, who works as a store clerk.

"The Zulus said anyone who is Xhosa is ANC," said the maid, Mimi, in Phola Park squatter camp, who said she had witnessed some of the fighting.

Mr. Mandela and many of the ANC's other leaders, but by no means all of them, are Xhosa. Moreover, in Thokoza, various local groups allied with the ANC — the South African Youth Congress and the United Democratic Front, among them — sided with the squatters, residents said.

"The hostel dwellers were always left out of political organization in the townships," said a white lawyer with close knowledge of hostel conditions. "They were regarded as country bumpkins. So now we are seeing the results."

Many ANC supporters ascribe the latest fighting to an attempt by Chief Buthe to stake an equal claim in the negotiations on the country's future with Mr. Mandela, a role that the ANC wants to deny him.

Neither side, thus, has unequivocally attempted to restrain its supporters, and the complex of rivalries and bloodshed has continued.

## 21 Are Killed in Zulu Attack

The Associated Press  
JOHANNESBURG — New tribal fighting flared Monday when Zulus armed with assault rifles raided Xhosa sleeping in a hostel, the police said. The death toll from recent clashes rose to 31.

The police and witnesses said that the Zulus attacked a Xhosa hostel in Kwaithema township. At least 21 people were killed, many of them Xhosa shot in their beds, they said.

Police officers in armored vehicles moved in after dawn to restore order and protect residents. Enraged Xhosa set fire to a hostel used by Zulus before being driven off.

Fighting also broke out in Kagiso township, where three persons were killed when a mob went on a rampage, the police said. The tribal affiliations of the dead were not known, they said.

## De Maizièr Takes On Post of Foreign Minister

Washington Post Service

BERLIN — As his coalition collapsed around him Monday, Prime Minister Lothar de Maizièr of East Germany declared that he would be his own foreign minister and pledged to hold the disintegrating nation's government together until German reunification.

Mr. de Maizièr dismissed a call for his resignation by the opposition Social Democrats, who said the prime minister was not competent to lead East Germany out of its economic crisis.

On Sunday he lost the two-thirds parliamentary majority he needed to win approval of the proposed unification treaty with West Ger-

many. But he retains a simple majority, enough to stay in office.

The Social Democrats pulled their 88 members out of the 400-member parliament to protest Mr. de Maizièr's dismissal of four ministers and to put distance between their party and his policies and those of the West German chancellor, Helmut Kohl.

Foreign Minister Markus Meckel quit Monday, along with the other Social Democrats in the four-party coalition.

But Mr. de Maizièr, who has accused Social Democratic ministers of failing to help their country through its painful transition from communism to a market-based economy, promised that "the work of the government will continue."

He said that East Germany would merge with West Germany on Oct. 14, the date that he and Mr. Kohl favor.

The Social Democrats said they would propose in parliament Wednesday that reunification be completed immediately after Sept. 12, when the victorious World War II powers are expected to wrap up their talks on German unity.

"East Germany is on the verge of collapse, and there is only one solution — quick accession," said Oskar Lafontaine, the West German Social Democratic leader.

—MARC FISHER

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# For America's Poor, B.F. Skinner, Leading Behavioral Psychologist, Dies at 86

## It's Been a Bad Year

Number of People Getting Welfare And Food Stamps Climbed Sharply

By Robert Pear  
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — In a further sign of weakness in the economy, the number of people receiving food stamps and welfare benefits has jumped sharply this year.

At least 44 states have reported increases in enrollment, some ranging up to 50 percent.

Participation in the food stamp program has grown dramatically in the past 12 months, according to a report submitted to Congress by the Agriculture Department, which administers the program.

Though some factors unrelated to the economy were cited as contributing to the increases, the food stamp rolls are considered a barometer of the nation's economic climate.

They often signal economic difficulty in advance of the jobless rate because employed workers may qualify for food stamps when they experience a reduction in wages or working hours.

The number of people on the food stamp rolls rose by 1.3 million from May 1989 to May 1990, when it topped 20 million for the first time since 1985.

The Agriculture Department report said the increase in food stamp recipients was "strongly correlated" with growth of the main federal-state welfare program, Aid to Families With Dependent Children.

New Hampshire reported a 38 percent increase in welfare recipients and a 54 percent increase in food stamp recipients from June 1989 to June 1990.

Thomas E. Pryor, the state official who supervises both programs, said that the increase resulted mainly from a slowdown in the New Hampshire economy, including defense-related industries.

"In many cases, people have gone from working full time to working part-time and have experienced a big decrease in income," he said.

In the last 12 months, food stamp rolls have increased 26 percent in Nevada, 19 percent in Florida, 16 percent in Texas, 12 percent each in Georgia and Massachusetts and 7 percent each in New York State and California.

Welfare rolls are up 17 percent in Kentucky, 16 percent in Connecticut, 15 percent in Texas and Nevada.

Seabrook Plant Completes Tests

The Associated Press

SEABROOK, New Hampshire — Five months of reactor tests at the Seabrook nuclear power plant have been completed and the facility has begun regular operations to supply electricity to New England, a spokesman said Monday.

The \$6.5 billion plant, whose construction was bitterly opposed by anti-nuclear activists, is producing 1,150 megawatts of electricity, enough to supply 1 million homes and eliminate the need for about 1.5 million barrels of oil a month, the plant operator said.

Unusual Weaponry in the War on Crack

By Michael Isikoff  
Washington Post Service

PHILADELPHIA — For more than four years, Sam Heath says, his life was a "series of broken promises" to quit smoking crack.

No matter how many times he vowed to do it, every two weeks his paycheck arrived and "it was like Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde," Mr. Heath said. "A transformation would come over me and I would go on these binges."

Then drug researchers here offered the 36-year-old shipyard worker an unusual alternative: little red pills of amantadine, a drug normally used to treat certain viral infections and Parkinson's disease. Some scientists believe that it also reduces the brain's craving for cocaine.

The pills "calmed me down a bit," said Mr. Heath, who has not touched crack since the two-week experiment last summer but who remains in treatment. "Somewhere in the recesses of my mind, I believed it was helping me."

No one is yet calling amantadine a cure for crack. But in agreeing to take the pills, Mr. Heath became one of the first subjects on whom some say may be among the most important fronts in the drug war — the search for a medicine that will kill the craving for cocaine and its smokable derivative, crack.

Other scientists are skeptical, pointing out that while there are many testimonials, the evidence in favor of using drugs to cure drug abuse remains unconfirmed. They also note that drug abuse is a broader problem than mere biochemistry in an addict's body.

And the significance of Mr. Heath's testimonial is unclear: no one will know until the end of the experiment whether he got the experimental drug or the placebo.

After years of frustration trying to treat cocaine and crack abusers, federal anti-drug officials are encouraging a wide effort to discover new methods of breaking addicts of their habits.

They are experimenting with unorthodox medical techniques, like Chinese acupuncture, and novel therapies that include addicts' be-

da, 14 percent in Florida, 12 percent in Georgia, 10 percent in California and 9 percent in Massachusetts, state officials said.

"It's hard for people to believe these numbers," said Aldona Vaitkus of the Arizona Department of Economic Security, where the number of welfare recipients increased 19 percent in the last year and the number of food stamp recipients climbed 22 percent.

The food stamp rolls have grown much faster than the Bush administration expected.

Assuming there would be 18.1 million people on the rolls, President George Bush originally requested \$13.3 billion for food stamps in the current fiscal year. Congress appropriated \$14.8 billion. That proved inadequate, and Congress provided \$12 billion extra in May.

The House has passed an appropriation bill that would provide \$18.1 billion for food stamps in the next fiscal year, which begins Oct. 1. The measure is pending in the Senate.

Troubled by such increases, Congress directed the Agriculture Department to investigate the causes.

But David Stewart, director of the Earthquake Information Center at Southeast Missouri State University in nearby Cape Girardeau, says he has looked into Mr. Browning's past predictions and accords him respect.

Mr. Browning, 72, is known to have predicted the 1989 San Francisco earthquake a week in advance in an appearance before about 500 business executives and their wives at a convention. He is also said to have predicted the eruption of Mount St. Helens in 1980.

Like the experts, the people with the biggest stake in the debate, those who live here, are also divided on Mr. Browning's prediction.

Most people are thinking like the police chief, Jimmy Holmes, or officials of the National Guards of Missouri and Arkansas. While they are not panicking, they see nothing wrong with taking precautions, either.

Missouri's Army National Guard is planning earthquake exercises Oct. 13-14; the Arkansas National Guard is planning a similar drill Dec. 1-5.

"We were planning an exercise anyway," said Major Cissy Lashbrook, the Arkansas guard's public information officer. "But Browning has attracted so much attention, this looked like a good time to let people know we do have a plan."

Naturally, talk has focused attention on the man who made the prediction.

Mr. Browning's background is in mathematics, physics and microbiology, and his doctorate, in biology, is from the University of Texas at Austin. He is also a self-taught climatologist and serves as a consultant on the subject to many businesses and executives.

"I make no public pronouncements," Mr. Browning said in a telephone interview from his home in Sandia Park, New Mexico. "What I say is for my clients."

His method involves calculation of tidal forces resulting from the gravitational effects of the Earth, the moon and the sun.

Brian Mitchell, chairman of the department of earth and atmospheric sciences at St. Louis University, said, "Recent studies with the best available data show no correlation between tidal forces and earthquakes."

Pat Jorgenson, a spokeswoman for the United States Geological Survey in Menlo Park, California, said that scientists there were not "doing any research into earth tides and any possible relation to seismic activity."

She said that the agency's scientists had conducted studies on a possible link but that these had proved "inconclusive."

But Mr. Stewart said Mr. Browning's method should not be summarily rejected.

"Here's a man who has hit several home runs," he said. "Will he hit another on Dec. 3? We don't know, but that's no excuse for not being prepared."

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By Dava Sobel  
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — B.F. Skinner, 86, a prominent psychologist who studied human and animal behavior in ingenious experiments and hoped that his findings would foster creativity and curtail repression, died of complications from leukemia Saturday in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

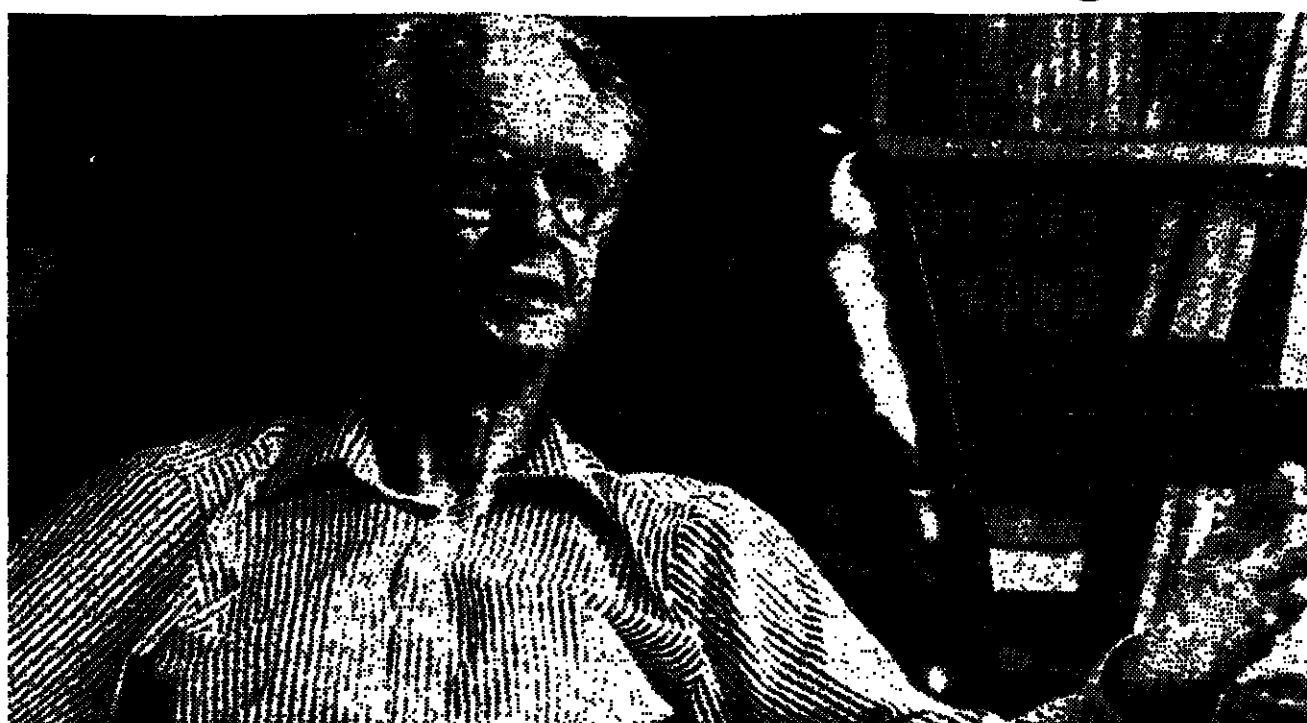
In his research and his voluminous writings, including "Walden Two" and "Beyond Freedom and Dignity," Mr. Skinner advanced the belief that individuals could understand themselves and build a better world only through systematic modification of their behavior according to scientific principles he promulgated.

By becoming a "behaviorist" in the late 1920s, when the discipline was in its infancy, Mr. Skinner helped to shape behavioral psychology as both a laboratory science and a cogent philosophy.

Over the course of his long career, he worked on projects as diverse as machines that teach, utopian communities, warheads guided by pigeons, temperature-controlled environments for infants and the education of the severely retarded.

Some of these contributions earned him the reputation of a profound thinker; others caused him to be seen as a cold manipulator of humanity whose ideas could have disastrous consequences if they fell into the wrong hands.

Because he denounced "the mysterious world of the mind" as "an unwarranted and dangerous meta-



B.F. Skinner, the famed U.S. behavioral psychologist who died on Saturday, gesturing during a talk with an interviewer on Aug. 4.

phor," Mr. Skinner became further suspect as a person who had no truck with moods and feelings as they are described by other psychologists or, for that matter, by ordinary people.

In fact, however, he recognized and revealed in the whole range of human emotions, and he wanted to explore them without resorting to

"mentalistic" concepts such as "conscious" and "unconscious," or artificial distinctions between the "mind" and the "brain."

States from joy to suffering, he maintained, were experienced as physical states of the body and made manifest in a person's behavior. Even thinking was a behavior,

he said, no matter how difficult to observe and describe.

By his own and others' reckoning, Mr. Skinner's most important achievement was his explication of the theory of operant behavior.

Briefly, it holds that any behavior, from a rat's pressing a bar to the steps in composing a symphony, is selected and reinforced by

certain positive consequences in the environment.

In other words, new behavior that emerges accidentally as a combination of the individual's unique genetic and personal history may readily become established as a pattern by positive reinforcement. If not reinforced, however, the new

behavior tends to be "extinguished."

Mr. Skinner wrote his novel "Walden Two" in the 1940s while he was chairman of the psychology department at Indiana University in Bloomington. The book sold poorly for several years but after appearing in paperback it attracted wide attention.

Richard L. Strout, 92, Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON (AP) — Richard L. Strout, 92, a Washington correspondent for The Christian Science Monitor and The New Republic from the Harding administration to Ronald Reagan's first term in the White House, died here Sunday.

Mr. Strout reported for the Monitor for more than 60 years and wrote the political column "TRB from Washington" in the New Republic from 1943 to 1983. He retired from the Monitor in 1984.

In Mr. Strout's hands, the TRB column became one of the most widely followed expressions of liberal political opinion in the nation.

Stephen E. Smith, 62, Kennedy Financial Aide

NEW YORK (NYT) — Stephen E. Smith, 62, a financial analyst and political strategist in the presidential campaign of his brother-in-law, John F. Kennedy, in 1960; died of cancer here Sunday.

Mr. Smith not only managed many of the Kennedy family's political campaigns but ran several Kennedy businesses.

## Jumpy Days in a Town on the Fault Line

By William Robbins  
New York Times Service

NEW MADRID, Missouri — Life on the fault line is always interesting, as people in this trembly old Mississippi River town often say, but a prediction by a man named Iben Browning is making life hereabouts downright exciting.

Mr. Browning, a climatological consultant who lives in New Mexico, has calculated that on Dec. 3, give or take 48 hours, this area could once again be the center of a destructive earthquake.

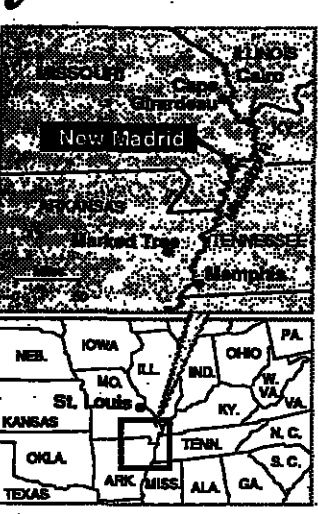
People in Missouri and neighboring states are taking him seriously enough to plan events like National Guard drills and informational town meetings, to store food and to consider closing schools on the appointed day.

While there is also considerable skepticism among experts and residents of this area about Mr. Browning's prediction, New Madrid is conditioned by its history to take a sober view of such warnings.

"This town is near the epicenter of one of the most devastating earthquakes in the recorded history of North America. A series of quakes, beginning with a colossal shock, struck while settlers in the Mississippi River frontier and Indian natives slept at 2 A.M. on Dec. 16, 1811.

Tremors shook the earth almost continuously for months, and two even greater shocks struck on Jan. 23, 1812, and on Feb. 7, 1812.

The shocks have been estimated at well over 8 on the Richter scale. Such a reading would make them about 30 times as powerful as the



7.1 earthquake that rocked San Francisco last Oct. 17.

The fault rolled like tidal waves and burst open to spew geysers of sand, black rocks and water into the air. Witnesses said that for a time the Mississippi River flowed upstream. Shocks were felt as far away as Boston and the South Carolina coast.

The New Madrid fault, a broad zone of weakened rock reaching far below the earth's surface, stretches about 120 miles (about 195 kilometers), from Marked Tree, Arkansas, to Cairo, Illinois. Every now and then the earth twitches, a reminder of the trouble that awaits below.

Most scientists doubt anyone has the ability to pinpoint the date of an earthquake. They calculate that there is a 50 percent chance for a 6.3-magnitude quake by the end of the decade and a 90 percent chance for such a quake by 2040.

But some scientists are sounding a more cautious note, pointing out that all of the studies have been on small groups of subjects — in most cases fewer than 50 — and have not been duplicated by other researchers.

Some skeptics point out that heroin was developed by medical researchers as an allegedly nonaddictive medicine to treat morphine abusers.

Perhaps more significantly, many scientists warn that it is unrealistic to expect a wonder-drug cure. They say that the nation's cocaine problems are as deeply rooted in behavioral and social causes, especially in the inner city where the crack trade has flourished, as they are in brain chemistry.

In an informal survey at a recent conference of addiction therapists, Mr. Halikas said he found 32 psychiatrists who reported treating a total of as many as 12,000 cocaine addicts with these drugs. "There are a lot of people out there using these," Mr. Halikas said. "They appear to be doing something."

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FACE-OFF IN THE GULF: U.S. bolsters its offensive capabilities and advises Americans to leave Jordan

UN Security Council Considers Multinational Force for Gulf

UNITED NATIONS, New York — The five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council debated the text of a resolution Monday that would authorize a multinational force to back up the economic embargo against Iraq.

Diplomatic sources told United Press International that an agreement was being delayed because of Chinese reservations.

The sources said the five — the

United States, the Soviet Union, Britain, France and China — were attempting to work out a deal by which the Chinese would abstain from the vote.

The sources said the Soviets were urging formation of a UN committee to coordinate the multinational force that would cut seaborne trade with Iraq.

Should the five permanent members reach an agreement, they would then consult with the 10 nonpermanent members of the

council. Any one of the five could block agreement with a veto. If none of the five has an objection, the resolution could be adopted by a majority of the 15 council members.

The Bush administration has been trying to win UN backing for the use of military force, but a senior U.S. official said the United States was prepared to go it alone if need be.

Two tankers, both outward bound from the Gulf and evidently

loaded with Iraqi oil, defied warning shots fired across their bows by American warships Saturday. Those were the first shots fired by American military forces in the Gulf crisis.

The senior U.S. official said the United States wanted to avoid renewing the friction that developed in the United Nations last week when President George Bush acted unilaterally to impose a blockade against Iraq and Iraqi-occupied Kuwait.

But the official said, "It's not a question of if we are going to stop these tankers. It's a question of when." The tankers were being tracked by U.S. warships.

The five held at least two meetings Sunday to discuss the new resolution.

The initial meeting failed to resolve the issue, a U.S. official said, and the political counselors of the five nations met again Sunday night to continue the negotiations. The United States, which has

only a few days before the first of the ships reaches its intended port, was hoping to arrange a formal Security Council meeting quickly, officials said.

Administration officials said Washington had asked Britain to introduce a draft resolution in the Security Council.

"There have been informal meetings that we hope would lead to a resolution that the permanent five could support at a Security Council meeting," an official said. (UPI, NYT)

FORCE: There Is a Superpower

(Continued from page 1)

position, as we did after the war, very soon again.

"But when action is needed against an aggressor, only the United States has the wherewithal to respond."

So it is the United States, not Germany or Japan, that has drawn the line in the sand against an Iraqi attack on Saudi Arabia, with its huge oil reserves that Germany and Japan need more, in fact, than the United States does.

"The realities are back in the forefront," a senior European diplomat said. "The realities are American power and leadership. As the world is now constructed, there is often absolutely no substitute for them."

Economic power counts for more where no one is challenging the status quo, where the political order is legitimate and longstanding, as in much of Europe and, to a slightly lesser degree, in East Asia. That is decidedly not the case in the Middle East.

"There are a lot of different chessboards now," said Michael Mandelbaum of the Council on Foreign Relations and Johns Hopkins University. "On some of them, like aid to the Soviet Union and Central Europe, we aren't the main player. But on this one, in the struggle for Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, we're supremely important."

Because oil is the indispensable element for modern industrial civilization, at least for the immediate future, and because 40 percent of it is in the Gulf region, the instability there — as opposed, for example, to the instability in Africa — is deemed worthy of military intervention, as a last resort, by decisionmakers in dozens of world capitals.

But in Europe, where each country has different geopolitical, economic and constitutional concerns, institutions are slow to decide, and some, like NATO, are designed to act effectively in only one set of circumstances — an attack within Europe — and not in others.

This time, Germany is hamstrung, constrained by law but even more by the past. Even a suggestion by Mr. Kohl last week that he might send minesweepers to the Gulf produced a political uproar, with a clash between the chancellor and his foreign minister, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, and a debate as to whether German troops should engage in armed conflict again, even as peacekeepers.

Japan was so perplexed in the early days of the crisis that Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu had to cancel a long-planned trip to the region because he did not know what to say if asked how Japan proposed to help.

Now, after tremendous soul-searching, he is considering sending nonmilitary support personnel to assist American and other military forces — a bold step for Japan, unmatched since World War II, but still something of a token gesture.

The major exception is Britain, able to act fast because it has a unitary government, with no jangling coalition partners, and headed by an extraordinarily decisive woman, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, who has fought to keep the British-American special relationship alive as others dismissed it as moribund. The old imperial tradition in the zone east of Suez makes things easier for the British, too.

Only the Soviet Union has a military establishment in the same league as that of the United States. Had the current emergency arisen a decade ago, it would have provided a prime opportunity for Soviet intervention, but Moscow is so preoccupied now with internal questions as to seem uninterested.

Mr. Gorbachev is seeking instead to play a peacekeeping role through the United Nations, hoping to gain credibility with some Arab leaders, but he is in no position to move thousands of troops long distances almost overnight.

So the field is clear for Washington this time, at least as long as Mr. Bush can keep the country behind him. There are a few warning lights flashing, like other members of Congress who have been back to their districts this week, Mr. Hamilton reports that his constituents are ambivalent, "taking a certain pride in our superpower status, but more and more questioning the cost of that unique position, in terms of taxes and of families separated."

In the longer term, Washington faces a major task in defining exactly where the spheres of vital interest to the United States lie, and building a broad public consensus behind that set of priorities.

French Hostage Calls To Urge Conciliation

By Joseph Fitchett

International Herald Tribune

PARIS — Foreboding a possible expansion of Iraqi psychological warfare involving Western hostages, the wife of a Frenchman described a telephone call Monday from her husband in Baghdad urging France to be more conciliatory toward Iraq.

The woman, Elsa Cartone, said on the radio station France-Inter that she was sure that her husband's call had been authorized by Iraqi officials because of its potential propaganda value.

Her husband told her, Mrs. Cartone said, that the phone call might be their final conversation because he had been told that he was being taken to Basra, an industrial city and port in southern Iraq that would be a likely target for air raids if hostilities erupted in the Gulf.

A campaign along these lines would go beyond previous terrorist tactics, including the detention of U.S. citizens in Iran in 1979 and 1980, in seeking to attain maximum emotional impact in Western nations from the plight of hostages.

Tactics of this kind appear to be a predictable amplification of President Saddam Hussein's decision to use the foreigners detained in Iraq and Kuwait to make Western governments hesitate before striking militarily.

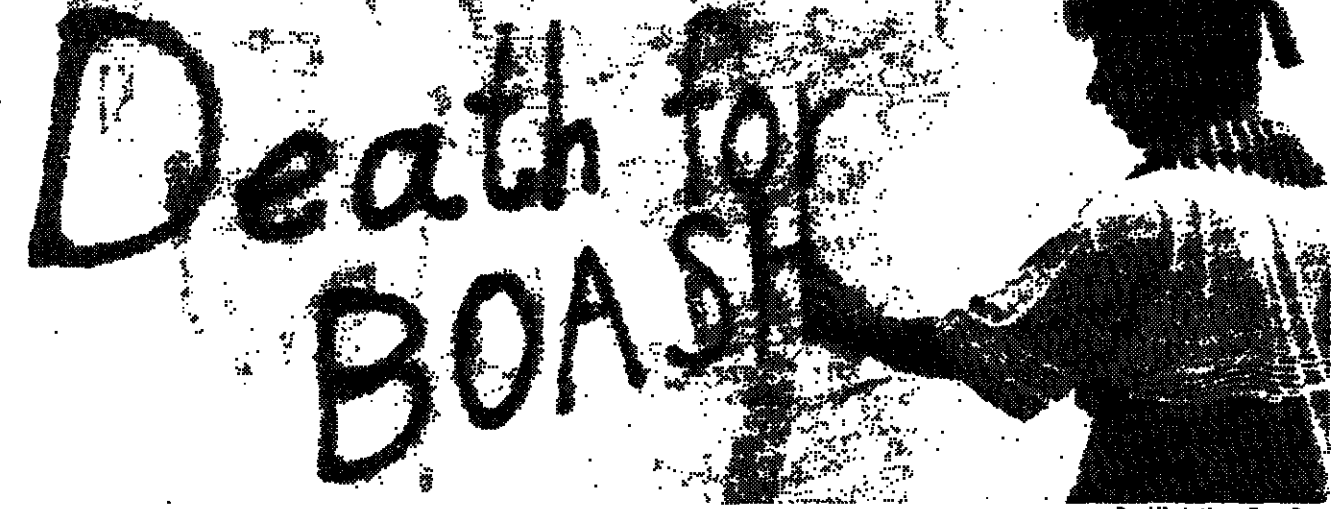
Besides seeking to influence public opinion, a diplomat said in Paris, Iraqi leaders appear to be trying to drive a wedge in Western ranks, particularly between the United States and some of its European allies.

Turks Kill 5 Kurd Rebels

Reuters

DIYARBAKIR, Turkey — Five separatist Kurdish rebels were killed Monday in a clash with security forces in southeastern Turkey, officials said.

Officials said the five — the



A pro-Iraqi Palestinian in southern Lebanon using a can of spray paint to express his feelings about the U.S. president.

Soviets 'Studying' Iraqi Offer

Reuters

MOSCOW — Foreign Minister

Eduard A. Shevardnadze said Monday that some of the Iraqi offer to release Western hostages deserved attention and Soviet experts were studying it.

"I believe there are elements deserving attention. We are now conducting intensive work at an expert level," he told Tass after three hours of talks with Deputy Prime Minister Saadoun Hammadi of Iraq.

Arab diplomats said that the secret diplomatic effort, using the Palestine Liberation Organization as a go-between, collapsed over the weekend, apparently when Iraq escalated the hostage tactics.

Since then, France has moved steadily closer to the U.S. and British position, and it joined Monday in rejecting Mr. Hussein's proposal to release the hostages in exchange for the withdrawal of Western forces from the Gulf and an end to the economic embargo against Iraq.

invasion of Kuwait were abandoned.

Mr. Shevardnadze noted Western reaction to the offer had been negative but said Moscow's first impression was that parts of it needed more study.

He described his talks with Mr. Hammadi, held at Iraq's request, as useful and necessary. The contacts would be continued, he said, but they could not be considered as negotiations.

He said they were "consultations, an exchange of information, opinions, the comparison of views, taking into account the present situation in the region."

Mr. Shevardnadze said the Soviet Union was interested in the fate of foreign nationals in the Gulf region but did not want to take on the role of mediator in trying to ensure their safety.

IRAQ: Friday Deadline

(Continued from page 1)

annexation of the small neighboring state.

INA said the Foreign Ministry demanded that the missions be transferred to Baghdad by Friday.

In London, Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd said Britain rejected the Iraqi offer.

"We are not accepting that instruction, and we will seek to make sure that we have people in Kuwait able to keep in touch with our community there for as long as is physically possible," he said.

"Our view at the moment is that we shall try to keep British officials in Kuwait as long as possible," Mr. Hurd said.

Meanwhile, Iraq received support in Yemen, where President Ali Abdullah Saleh addressed about 70,000 anti-Western protesters, saying, "The plying of these paves in Arab territorial waters is a terrorist act that will fail to achieve its aims as the strength of Arab resistance will force them to turn back."

In an indirect criticism of Saudi Arabia's call for foreign forces to help resist any possible Iraqi attack, Mr. Saleh said: "Those who called in these foreign forces will eventually prefer peaceful solutions enabling our nation to overcome all difficulties." He was referring to Arab nations as a whole. (Reuters, AFP)

U.S. Units Step Up Offensive Potential

The Associated Press

The United States is moving significant forces with offensive capabilities into positions from which they could launch forays into occupied Kuwait, military officials in Saudi Arabia said.

The troops also have received briefings on the position of Iraqi forces in Kuwait and on contingency plans should the United States decide to send forces across the border, the officials said.

They said that such a move was unlikely unless Iraqi forces crossed into Saudi territory. But they also suggested that the buildup in U.S. forces with offensive potential could force the Iraqis to rethink any plans for an assault across the border.

Ground rules for reporters in the news media pool, which is supervised by the Pentagon, prohibit disclosure of the exact locations of U.S. forces in Saudi Arabia or specific details about the size of deployments.

The military officials described the troop and equipment movements and planning as routine military procedure.

"I don't see us going into Kuwait, but if those orders ever came we would obviously want to be ready," a U.S. official said.

Another official said, "If it came down to that, we would have to move at lightning speed. So obviously you take preliminary steps to bring up the level of readiness, regardless of the current plans."

The U.S. mission in Saudi Arabia is described as defensive, and the first wave of troops and equipment to reach Saudi soil were meant to thwart an Iraqi advance.

But in the past few days, much of the troops and matériel that have moved into forward positions have been generally considered to be designed for offensive missions.

These include the beginning elements of the 101st Airborne Division, an air-assault unit that transports its troops with helicopters; the 7th Marine Expeditionary Brigade, which includes tanks, heavy artillery and Cobra attack helicopters; and other ground and naval forces usually geared toward offensive missions.

The battleship Wisconsin passed through the Suez Canal on Sunday and is expected to make its way around the Arabian Peninsula into the Gulf, from which it could assist in any offensive mission. Marine amphibious forces also are arriving in the area, officials said.

Other attack-oriented naval forces that are in the area aboard aircraft carriers include A-6 bombers, F-18 fighters and EA-6B radar-jamming planes designed to foil enemy communications.

Still, the United States and other countries participating in the multinational defense force are far short of the numbers that military analysts believe would be necessary to mount a ground effort to force Iraqi troops out of Kuwait.

from Washington, London and Paris indicated that the minimum number was 20.

The State Department in Washington on Monday added the 12 taken from the Hyatt, Hilton and International hotels in Kuwait City to the 35 marched out of a Baghdad hotel several days ago.

The Foreign Office in London said that 82 more British citizens had been taken from the Regency Palace Hotel in Kuwait City, making a total of 123 Britons known to have been thus treated by the Iraqi authorities.

The French Foreign Ministry said that 27 of its citizens had been taken to unknown destinations.

WASHINGTON — The military is commandeering 20 or more jeeps to carry troops and cargo to the Middle East daily, and one airline, Pan American World Airways, said Monday it was having to cancel a small number of commercial flights.

"The airlines maintain operational control of their airplanes — we just make them a deal they can't refuse," said Lieutenant Colonel Mike Cox, describing the Civil Reserve Air Fleet, which has been activated for the first time since it was set up in 1952.

DEPLOY: Emirates Act

(Continued from page 1)

Quwain, Ajman, Fujaira and Ras al Khaima.

The United Arab Emirates, like Kuwait, has been accused by Iraq of exceeding its Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries production quota — thus glutting world markets, keeping oil prices low, and reducing Iraq's potential oil revenues.

In other developments: The commander of Egyptian troops sent to Saudi Arabia was quoted Monday as saying the entire contingent now is in place but could be increased at Saudi request.

The size of the Egyptian contingent was not reported. President Hosni Mubarak said Friday it would not exceed 2,000 men, but military sources estimate it at twice that number.

In a dispatch dated Dhabran, Egypt's state-run Middle East News Agency reported that troops from Oman and Morocco arrived in Saudi Arabia's eastern zone.

This was the first report that Oman, the Arabian peninsula's second-largest country after Saudi Arabia, would send military units to help the Saudis defend against possible Iraqi attack.

Greece will send its top frigate, the Limnos, to join the multinational naval force in the Gulf, Prime Minister Constantine Mitsotakis said.

An Italian frigate and a supply ship left for the eastern Mediterranean on Monday, ready to form part of a European naval force in the Gulf. (AFP, Reuters, AP)

Make Gas Masks Available Now, Israeli Demands

Reuters

JERUSALEM — Foreign Minister David Levy, reacting to rising fears of an Iraqi chemical attack, demanded on Monday that gas masks be distributed now to all Israelis.

"If someone threatens you, you must take the threats very seriously," Mr. Levy said Monday. "The masks were intended for these times."

Opponents of immediate distribution, including the Defense Ministry, say it would cause panic at home and signal Iraq that Israel was preparing to go to war.

Mr. Levy said Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir had assured him the government would decide this week on whether to distribute the masks. Defense officials have said they have enough masks for all Israeli citizens, as well as tourists.

DIPLOMACY: Major Challenge

(Continued from page 1)

week that his greatest concern was Western European or Japanese wavering if rising oil prices and uncertain supplies lead to lines at the gas pumps or political turmoil.

"Bush has to keep two sets of things going at once: international support and domestic support," the official said. "We will do everything in our power to hang tough."

Perhaps the greatest unknown is how the current political alliance will hold up if war erupts. U.S. officials worry that many, if not most, nations might scurry to neutral corners, leaving the United States with few allies to fight for the industrialized West's way of life.

"Once one bullet is fired," an Egyptian diplomat said last week, "we will face the severity of the task before us."

Mr. Bush has worked hard to force dozens of nations to choose sides in the confrontation and has been openly scornful of fence-sitters. Any defection from the alliance against Iraq, U.S. officials acknowledge, could make it easier for others to peel away from the sanctions effort. Yet, in many countries, the national interests

BUSH: Stern Warning

(Continued from page 1)

II and likened the situation to the Allied struggle against Hitler.

Mr. Bush warmly thanked President Mikhail S. Gorbachev for his recent condemnation of the Iraqi invasion, saying that the Soviet leader "has shown, if anyone doubted it, that nations which joined to fight aggression in World War II can work together to stop the aggressors of today."

Seeking to further isolate Mr. Hussein, Mr. Bush termed the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait "a ruthless assault on the very essence of international order and civilized ideals."

He cautioned that it would take time to realize American objectives in the Gulf. And in a somber closing he said that the United States was "engaged in a cause larger than ourselves," a cause exemplified by the speech and prayer that Eisenhower delivered to Allied soldiers on the eve of the Normandy invasion. In it, the general asked for God's blessing of "this great and noble undertaking."

"Half a century ago," Mr. Bush said, "the world had the chance to stop a ruthless aggressor and missed it. And I pledge to you we will not make that mistake again."

Mr. Bush said he had spoken by telephone Monday with President Turgut Ozal of Turkey and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of Britain, and he emphasized the international response to Iraq's invasion.

"Leaders who use citizens as pawns deserve, and will receive, the scorn and condemnation of the entire world," he said.

The president said the Iraqi leadership, in moving foreigners against their will, was "violating the norms" of Islam.

As negotiations in Congress continued on the shape of the U.S. military budget, Mr. Bush asserted that Operation Desert Shield, which has poured American forces into Saudi Arabia, proved the need for a trim, well-equipped and highly mobile American fighting force in the future.

"Make no mistake," the president said. "To prevent aggression, to keep America militarily prepared, I will oppose the defense budget slashers who are out of touch with what America needs to keep freedom secure and safe."

The two nations have exchanged about 8,000 prisoners since Friday. (AP, Reuters, AFP)

Iran Agrees to Support Sanctions Against Iraq

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

NICOSIA — Iran said Monday it would abide by United Nations sanctions against Iraq, despite the new peace moves between the neighboring Gulf states.

The Islamic Republic News Agency said that Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Velayati of Iran informed the UN secretary-general, Javier Perez de Cuellar, of the decision in a letter sent Monday.

President Saddam Hussein of Iraq announced last week that he was accepting Iran's terms for a settlement of their decade-old conflict, pacifying his eastern neighbor as his confrontation with U.S.-led forces in Saudi Arabia escalated.

Iran's initiative had raised speculation that Iran would violate the sanctions ordered by the UN Security Council after Iraq's invasion of Kuwait on Aug. 2.

from Kuwait. But it also has denounced the deployment of U.S.-led multinational forces to thwart a possible attack on Saudi Arabia.

Iraq has withdrawn from most of the Iranian land it seized during the Gulf War.

IRNA said Monday that Iraqis had abandoned occupied areas of the southern oil-producing province of Khuzestan and Haman, a mountainous western region.

"Most parts of the occupied territories in the southern border region have been evacuated, and there is no sign of the Iraqis," the IRNA report said.

Iraq seized about 2,500 square kilometers (950 square miles) of territory during the war, in which a million people were killed or wounded and both countries were economically devastated.

The two nations have exchanged about 8,000 prisoners since Friday. (AP, Reuters, AFP)

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## FACE-OFF IN THE GULF: Asians, fearful for their fragile economies, are reacting cautiously

## Japan Postpones Decision on Ways To Aid Embargo

By James Sterngold  
New York Times Service

TOKYO — In a sign of the creeping paralysis in Japan's foreign policy apparatus over how to respond to the Gulf crisis, a Foreign Ministry official reversed himself Monday and said it would take a week or more for Japan to decide on how to support the military embargo on Iraq.

On Friday, Taro Watanabe, the Foreign Ministry's chief spokesman, had said that Japan felt some urgency in announcing soon concrete steps to send not just money, but nonmilitary personnel to toughen the embargo, which is being led by the United States. He provided no details, but press reports have said the options ranged from dispatching medical or communications teams to minesweepers.

But on Monday there were leaks to the Japanese press that some in the government believed that Japan — which is more dependent on Middle Eastern oil than any other industrialized nation — would have to change its currently restrictive laws before sending Japanese personnel into a possible shooting war. Changing the law could take weeks, a sign that the internal debate on an appropriate response was still unresolved.

"Our intention is clear, but some of the ministries involved are creating a problem," Mr. Watanabe said Monday. Japan has already said it would halt trade with Iraq and Kuwait and freeze their assets.

Mr. Watanabe added that government officials were surprised over the weekend to learn that some Middle Eastern countries were not interested in the nonmilitary support Japan was offering, making the formulation of a policy even tougher.

Foreign Minister Taro Nakayama is currently on a fact-finding trip to the Middle East as a

replacement for Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu, who decided to stay home given the delicacy of the mission and the many unanswered policy questions Japan faces.

Mr. Watanabe said that the Foreign Ministry was now likely to wait until Mr. Nakayama returned to Tokyo on Saturday before deciding on how it could contribute to the West's defenses.

The reversal was another sign that Iraq's invasion of Kuwait is proving one of the most vexing foreign policy conundrums that Japan has faced in the postwar era, touching as it does on the sensitive issue of whether Japan has a military role to play in the world and how it should protect its enormous economic interests overseas.

Japan renounced military actions in its postwar constitution. Even though it has a large and heavily armed standing army, its mission is limited to defensive activities within 1,600 kilometers (1,000 miles) of the archipelago.

"The back and forth is not a surprise," a Western diplomat said. "This is a question of their identity."

Another diplomat said that there was also a generation problem. Older government officials, he said, simply do not trust the military, which aggressively led the country toward ruin in World War II.

The kind of activist role in the Middle East that some are advocating would give Japan's military more influence than at any time since the war.

In addition, one government official said there was concern that a more active role by Japan could threaten the safety of the 500 Japanese citizens currently held hostage in Kuwait and Iraq.

The policy problems also point to difficulties for Mr. Kaifu, who



A jubilant oil worker was among 134 Soviet citizens arriving Monday in Moscow from Iraq.

had little foreign policy experience before taking office last year. Mr. Kaifu is popular among the Japanese, but weak within the governing Liberal Democratic Party, and

this has had difficulty marshaling a consensus on tough issues.

"Kaifu is a mediator rather than a decision-maker," said Yoshikazu Sakamoto, a professor of interna-

tional political affairs at Meiji University. "This is a time when Japan should redefine its role in the world, but he is too weak to make that happen."

## Cheney to Sailor: 'Good Luck'

## On the Scott, Crew Feels It's Needed

The Associated Press

MANAMA, Bahrain — President George Bush's naval blockade of Iraq has gone unchallenged.

The U.S. sailors who have been specially trained to board ships heading to and from Iraq have been issued more than radios, guns and grappling hooks.

They also carry laminated yellow cards in English, French and Arabic.

Besides telling crews that their ships are being inspected for cargo intended for Iraq or Kuwait, the cards tell them:

"Remain calm; avoid confrontation."

"If fighting starts in your area, drop to the deck with your hands outstretched and remain silent."

"Follow all instructions. You will be taken to a safe place. Cooperate and no harm will come to you."

Defense Secretary Dick Cheney was flown from the carrier Eisenhower in the Red Sea to the destroyer Scott, which had just come off interdiction duty near the mouth of the Gulf of Aden. He was ushered into the wood-paneled stateroom that usually serves as the commanding officer's suite but had been transformed into the ship's war room.

The officers papered the wall with shipping charts of the Red Sea and Gulf, filling the map's waterways with small slips of paper indicating U.S. warship positions.

U.S. ground units were marked with red dots. The northeastern region of Saudi Arabia — a possible Iraqi invasion route into the Saudi oil fields — had been transformed into a near-solid glob of red.

Below decks on the Scott, the defense secretary made a point of spending some time with the enlisted men.

Mr. Cheney chatted with a cook for a time, shook his hand and then autographed a photo of the ship. Asked what the secretary scribbled, the seaman broke out in a big smile and replied, "He wrote, 'Good Luck.' And boy, that's the right thing to wish us now."

The Scott's captain, Commander Tom Corcoran, said the first alert for the vessel to get from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea led to a frenzy of activity, of loading sup-



Dick Cheney, U.S. defense secretary, looking thoughtful during a weekend visit to the destroyer Scott on station in the Red Sea.

plies and fuel on his guided missile destroyer and transferring missiles at sea from the Eisenhower.

Other officers on board the ship reported that Mr. Corcoran remained at his post on the bridge guiding the rush of activity for 18 hours straight.

"We've had the most incredible 10 days of my life," the commander said. "Everyone responded and nobody's tired."

Upon hearing that, a lieutenant and several sailors standing behind the commander broke out in loud guffaws, and Mr. Corcoran sheepishly joined in.

The men of the Eisenhower battle group had begun to think they would be home soon, since their six months at sea were nearly up. They had even begun writing letters to their wives and families that they would be back in their home port of Norfolk, Virginia, in early September. But as it often does, trouble intervened.

"I last talked with my wife on Aug. 5, when I thought I'd be home in September," said Lieutenant Junior Grade Paul Dremann, a propulsion officer on the Scott. "The next day, we were heading into the Red Sea, and I don't know when I'll talk to her — let alone see her — now."

Mr. Cheney's visit to combat

troops at a windswept and sweltering air base in Saudi Arabia posed a particularly interesting problem for defense specialists.

As Mr. Cheney moved swiftly from camouflaged tent to tank to command center, several dozen reporters, television cameramen and photographers raced after him, jumping over tent wires, ammunition boxes — anything and everything — no matter how lethally armed — in their attempt to glean a word or picture of the secretary's visit with the troops.

It took some time before the military officers restored any semblance of order, leaving the impression that defending Mr. Cheney from journalists might be as taxing as defending Saudi Arabia from Iraq.

## EC Calls Meeting On Gulf Crisis

PARIS — Foreign ministers of the 12-nation European Community will meet in Paris on Tuesday to discuss the Gulf crisis, the French Foreign Ministry said.

The meeting will take place following a conference of foreign and defense ministers from the nine-nation Western European Union.

## In Asia, Criticism of Iraq but Reluctance to Act

By Michael Richardson  
International Herald Tribune

SINGAPORE — Many Asian countries, while critical of the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, are reluctant to take tough retaliatory action for fear of undermining their own fragile economies and jeopardizing the safety of hundreds of thousands of Asian workers in the Gulf, officials and analysts said Monday.

While nearly 13,000 Westerners, mainly from Britain and the United States, are being held as hostages by Baghdad, they are far outnumbered by the more than 530,000 Asian workers still trapped in Iraq and Kuwait.

Although Baghdad has said that all Asians, with the possible exception of Japanese, are free to leave, officials of Asian countries fear that the Iraqi government may prevent the departure of citizens from any nation that joins the U.S.-led military blockade of Iraq and Iraq-occupied Kuwait.

Baghdad said Monday that hundreds of Indonesians were free to leave Kuwait and Iraq following Jakarta's decision not to send troops to Saudi Arabia.

An official Iraqi spokesman said that to "express appreciation for

this free Islamic stand," additional facilities would be provided to Indonesians who wanted to return.

Ali Alatas, the Indonesian foreign minister, had said earlier that Indonesia would not send troops to join the multinational force in Saudi Arabia, despite a personal appeal from King Fahd. Malaysia has declined a similar request.

Analysts said that both Asian countries, in which Muslims form a majority of the population, were wary of joining the force without a specific UN mandate, fearing that it might further inflame tensions in the Gulf.

Although thousands of Asians have managed to flee into Saudi Arabia and Jordan in the past 10 days, Asian officials said there was a high risk that many could still be held by the Iraqi government as a shield against possible attack by forces in the region.

Most Asians in Iraq and Kuwait are from India, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Bangladesh, the Philippines and Thailand.

They were employed in oil fields, construction projects and as cleaners, cooks, maids and secretaries, sending back to their home countries each year large amounts of foreign exchange.

Thousands of Bangladeshis stormed the Foreign Ministry in Dhaka on Sunday demanding to see a list of Bangladeshi nationals stranded in Iraq and Kuwait.

They also called on the government to scrap plans to send up to 5,000 troops to Saudi Arabia, saying it would anger Iraq and make the fate of trapped Bangladeshis more uncertain.

Thai and Filipino workers who have managed to fly home since the invasion have told of rape and robbery of Asians by Iraqi troops.

Munir Shabbab Ahmed Bayati, the Iraqi ambassador in Bangkok, denied the allegations on Monday. Iraq, he added, was a "very civilized country," and its troops were disciplined.

Ali Sumaira, the Iraqi ambassador to Manila, warned the Philippines last week against allowing U.S. bases on its territory to be used for "aggression" against his country.

The bases provide transit and resupply facilities for aircraft and warships between the Pacific and the Gulf.

President Corason C. Aquino said Manila reserved the right to apply UN sanctions with "our own national interest" in mind.

"Our first concern is the safety and well-being of the hundreds of thousands of Filipinos who are working in the Middle East and who are, by doing so, helping our economy here," said Raul Manglapac, foreign secretary.

More than half a million Filipino contract workers in the Middle East, including 350,000 in Saudi Arabia, have pumped about \$1.3 billion annually over the last three years into the Philippine economy.

India, the Philippines and Sri Lanka will ask the UN Security Council to support emergency shipments of food and medicines to Asians caught in Kuwait and Iraq.

Officials also said the three countries would seek financial relief through the UN for developing nations that suffer serious economic hardship by applying UN trade sanctions against Iraq and Iraq-occupied Kuwait.

India, for example, has been getting about 40 percent of its annual oil imports from Iraq and Kuwait, while Iraq owes India about \$500 million in trade debts.

Sri Lanka has refused to halt sales of tea, one of its key exports, to Iraq, which takes nearly 20 percent of the annual crop.

If the UN provided alternative foreign exchange, the government would stop tea sales to Iraq, said Ranjan Wijeratne, the planning minister and cabinet spokesman. Sri Lanka was a poor country, Mr. Wijeratne explained, adding, "Sanctions are for the rich."

## Kohl Fails to Get Support for Troops

By Marc Fisher  
Washington Post Service

BERLIN — Chancellor Helmut Kohl, torn between his desire to please his American ally and his reticence to break with 40 years of tight restrictions on German military activity, failed Monday to unite his government around the idea of sending German troops to the Gulf.

Mr. Kohl met with members of his governing coalition and then with opposition leaders but found no support for joining the U.S.-led force in the Gulf and no consensus on the use of the constitutional restriction on the use of German force.

In the last four days, U.S. diplomats at NATO headquarters in Brussels have stepped up pressure on West European nations, and especially on West Germany, to support the American presence in the Gulf with more than words.

Sources in Brussels said that President George Bush was urgently seeking a deeper commitment to the Gulf military mission than nations other than Britain have thus far provided.

The message from Washington warned the Europeans that a continued tentative response to the Gulf situation would both strain the NATO alliance and make it harder for the Bush administration to find broad support in Congress for the Gulf mission.

Mr. Kohl is said to believe that German forces should help out in the Gulf, in good measure as thanks for Mr. Bush's strong support for German reunification over the past nine months.

But after meeting for several hours with Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher and Defense Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg, Mr. Kohl made it known that immediate military action is now considered impossible.

According to some constitutional lawyers, Bonn is forbidden from sending the Bundeswehr, the German forces, which are now the largest in Europe after the Soviet Union's, outside NATO territory. Other lawyers argue that the constitutional restriction is not that clear.

Thus far, Bonn has given U.S. forces permission to use American bases in West Germany to

transport troops and materials to the Gulf. And the Bundeswehr has sent minesweepers to the Mediterranean Sea to replace U.S. forces that have been moved to the Gulf.

The West German Defense Ministry also announced that it would lend the United States 10 tanks specially designed to detect poison gas. The Pentagon has ordered 10 of the German-made Fox tanks, but since they are not ready for delivery, Bonn agreed to lend the Americans a like number of its own Foxes.

But Mr. Genscher maintained that no further German role was possible without a constitutional change.

Oskar Lafontaine, the Social Democratic challenger to Mr. Kohl in his reelection bid this fall, said that there was "no reason" to rush to change the constitution.

The nine nations of the Western European Union met in Paris on Tuesday to consider sending a joint task force to the Gulf. West Germany is expected to support such a move, but only if the force is created without requiring German troops to participate.

## Hijackers of Soviet Plane Seek Pakistan Asylum

The Associated Press

KARACHI, Pakistan — Eleven prisoners from a Siberian labor camp overpowered their guards, hijacked a Soviet jetliner to Pakistan, then surrendered and sought political asylum, officials said.

It was the latest in a spate of hijacking attempts involving Soviet aircraft, at least the 13th in three months.

The Aeroflot Tupolev 154, carry-

ing 29 other passengers and a crew of nine, landed at Karachi International Airport with a maximum of 15 minutes of fuel remaining, airport officials said.

The hijackers gave themselves up within two hours, authorities said, adding that all on board the plane appeared to be unharmed.

Officials did not say whether the hijackers would be given asylum or sent back to the Soviet Union.

The escapees were armed with guns and homemade explosives, and had threatened to blow up the plane, the independent Soviet news agency Interfax said.

The episode began Sunday when 15 prisoners were traveling aboard a flight from Narynburg to the nearby city of Yakutsk in eastern Siberia.

They dismissed their guards and took over the plane, officials said, forcing it to return to Narynburg, where their labor camp was located. There, six prisoners decided to leave the plane, but two more joined the hijackers, said a spokesman for the Soviet Interior Ministry. The hijackers allowed 41 women and children among the 70 passengers to leave the plane in Narynburg, the spokesman said.

Then they flew west to Krasno-

yarsk in Siberia, where authorities negotiated with them for two hours and allowed them to return. The plane flew to Tashkent, in Soviet Uzbekistan, and a fresh crew took over, Interfax reported.

In Tashkent, the hijackers demanded that the aircraft be allowed to leave the country, and officials held midnight negotiations with them. The authorities allowed the plane to be refueled and leave for Pakistan after the hijackers promised to free the hostages on arrival, Interfax said.

Airport officials in Karachi initially refused to give permission to land but relented after the pilot said he did not have enough fuel to fly to another destination.

The airport was briefly closed, but it reopened to normal traffic after the airliner landed, the officials said.

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## 59 Foreigners Missing Since Philippine Quake

Agence France-Press

BAGUIO, Philippines — Fifty-nine foreigners remain unaccounted for since the major earthquake near here last month, the tourism department said Monday.

Foreign embassies have asked

the government to help locate 38 Americans, 13 Britons, 4 Malaysians, 3 Canadians and an Indonesian missing since July 16. Manila has said 1,660 people were killed and more than 700 were missing or feared dead after the earthquake.



INTERNATIONAL  
Herald Tribune

The Nations Together

Concerted international action: It is essential to secure the safety of the thousands of foreigners trapped in Kuwait and Iraq; it is essential to resolve the Iraq-Kuwait crisis with minimum violence; it is essential to keep Saddam Hussein from obscuring his own aggression with continued fabrications about the nature of U.S. intervention. And it is essential to realize a more profound possibility. How well the world cooperates now can set a bold pattern of peacekeeping for the post-Cold War world.

Such concerted action starts with the newly united United Nations. Once-empty mechanisms and procedures daily take on life. Cooperation can best be discussed and coordinated through the United Nations, which for virtually the first time in its history is functioning as it was designed to.

On Sunday the Security Council passed a tough resolution on Iraq's manipulative threats toward foreign nationals. Scores of nations have now reported on the effectiveness of U.S. sanctions to date. A three-nation subcommittee of the Security Council began to weigh the need for further steps. This week, in a historic step, the council is convening a meeting of the long-neglected panel designed to coordinate UN collective security operations.

There are many contributions that particular nations can make.

On the military side, the United States, Britain, France, West Germany, Australia, Canada, the Netherlands and Belgium have now sent ships. Four Islamic countries — Egypt, Syria, Morocco and Bangladesh — have joined the United States in sending ground troops to defend Saudi Arabia against Saddam Hussein's massed armies. But most of these individual contingents

Proliferation Antidotes

The Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty has not always lived up to its high purpose of keeping nuclear weapons out of the hands of states that want them. So the treaty will certainly come under sharp criticism at the review conference that started this Monday in Geneva. But critics who hope to strengthen the treaty by amending it may end up unraveling it. There are safer ways to close what everyone concedes are dangerous loopholes.

The fear of proliferation arises from simple scientific truths. Nations that use nuclear energy to generate power can divert material intended for fuel to weapons. They can also convert peaceful nuclear facilities to nonpeaceful purposes.

The Nonproliferation Treaty, signed in 1968, was designed to forestall the spread of nuclear warheads while fostering the development of nuclear power. It has had mixed success. Since 1970, when the treaty took effect, India, Israel, Pakistan and South Africa are thought surely to have crossed the nuclear threshold by developing weapons. Others have neared that threshold.

Dozens of states have not done so, however, and here the treaty has helped. With 140 states now signed on, it has certainly established non-nuclear status as a global norm. It also provides for international inspections, helping to allay suspicions that could have driven states to develop nuclear arms before their rivals did.

But the treaty has not always prevented some signatories, like West Germany and France, from exporting materials or technology that would help others, like Libya and Iraq, acquire nuclear arms.

An Inflation Dilemma

With the new figures on U.S. inflation, the Federal Reserve Board's familiar dilemma is sharpened: There are now widespread fears throughout the country of a recession not far ahead. But anything that the Federal Reserve might do to stave it off would make inflation worse. For the present, the wisest course is to do very little.

From the beginning of the year through July, prices rose at an annual rate of nearly 6 percent, well above the level of the previous several years. And the July figures were collected at a time when energy prices were falling, before the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. There will be another big upward in the August report, reflecting the impact of suddenly more expensive oil.

It would be a mistake to dismiss this acceleration of inflation as merely a couple of unlucky but isolated incidents — a cold snap last winter, now a quarrel in the Middle East. Evidence has been accumulating for some time that inflation is speeding up. Employees' compensation (wages plus benefits) has been picking up momentum for a couple of years and is now rising by more than 5 percent a year.

Oil is not the only external force for higher inflation. The dollar's exchange rate has been falling against most of the European currencies (although not, so far, against the yen), and it sank to a record low last week against the Deutsche mark. Driven by the enormous demands for investment in Eastern Europe, real interest rates are now much higher in the European banking centers than in New York, and some of the moneybags are selling their dollars to capture higher returns in Frankfurt. A lower dollar means higher prices for American imports.

As for recession, it is a danger but at the moment a hypothetical one. Whether it will arrive in the next several months is totally uncertain. The American economy is now

Other Comment  
With Blitzkrieg Speed

The right course is to act at blitzkrieg speed to topple Saddam Hussein, using in the next three months all the precision-targeted modern military weaponry and internal coup arranging available.

If this was being done efficiently, the West would say for another week or so that it was merely massing forces effectively to enforce a blockade, and then move sharply to kill or capture Saddam Hussein once they were in place. In the aftermath of his fall, it would be sensible to help Israeli-Arab relations to return to the spirit of Camp David, which would require greater autonomy for occupied Palestine.

The danger is that we may continue saying we are massing troops just to enforce a UN blockade, and (God help us) actually come to mean it. If we fail, the situation could then turn Vietnamese.

— Norman Macrae, commenting in *The Sunday Times* (London).

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Tel. (1) 46 37 93 00. Telex: Advertising, 612399; Circulation, 612832; Editorial, 612718; Production, 636698.  
Directeur de la publication: Richard D. Simmons  
Editor for Asia: Michael Richardson, 5 Convent Road, Singapore 0511. Tel. 472-7768. Telex RS59928  
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S.A. au capital de 1,200,000 F. RCS Nanterre B73202126. Commission Paritaire No. 61337  
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OPINION

The Nonproliferation Treaty Doesn't Work

By Paul L. Leventhal

WASHINGTON — The Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty is being reviewed in Geneva by many of the 142 states that have ratified it. Like three previous review conferences held since the treaty came into force in 1970, this one is likely to end the virtues of nonproliferation — the next best thing to motherhood — and ignore laws that make the treaty dangerously out of date.

In its present form in a rapidly changing world, the nonproliferation treaty, for all its good intentions, invites catastrophe.

The Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty is regarded as an international firewall against the further spread of nuclear weapons. But its actual provisions for containing proliferation are like the hospitals that Florence Nightingale so abhorred. They have served to spread the disease.

Iraq, for example, is a treaty party in good standing despite Saddam Hussein's decade-long pursuit of nuclear weapons. His exercise in blatant proliferation does not run afoul of the treaty because only the receipt or assembly of a complete nuclear device, not the acquisition of the ingredients needed to build one, would violate it.

Iraq's continued non-nuclear-weapon status is attributable principally not to its treaty membership but to Israel's bombing in 1981 of an unfinished nuclear reactor near Baghdad. That reactor was capable of producing plutonium in quantities large enough to make at least two atomic bombs a year. It had been certified "peaceful" by inspectors from the International Atomic Energy Agency, the UN group that polices the treaty.

Israel remains outside the treaty and is hardly a pillar of nonproliferation, but its preemptive strike capacity and undeclared nuclear arsenal reflect a lack of faith in the treaty's guarantees.

Japan is a treaty member in good standing. It plans to recover from the wastes of its reactors more plutonium than the United States and the Soviet Union now have in all their nuclear arms combined. This plan does not run afoul of the treaty because the plutonium is to be used as fuel for power reactors, not bombs.

No matter that Japan will have far more plutonium than it needs, because it has postponed into the next century the new reactors for which the fuel was intended. No matter that current reactors do not need this highly toxic, bomb-grade plutonium at all but can continue

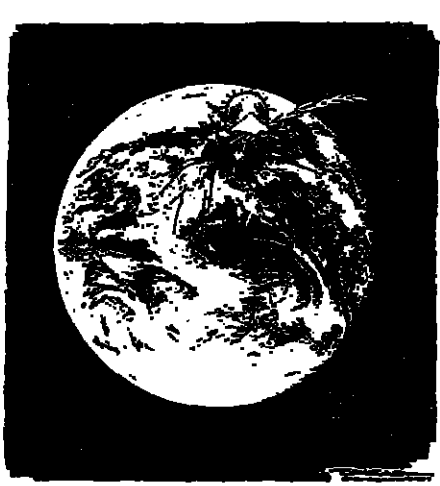
to function on plentiful low-grade uranium that cannot be made into weapons.

No matter that IAEA inspectors are unable to know in a given year, because of measurement uncertainties, whether 270 kilograms of plutonium (enough for 30 bombs) has been simply lost in the pipes of a processing plant or has been diverted. No matter that these uncertainties and other vulnerabilities make plutonium susceptible to theft by terrorists as well as to diversion by governments intent on making nuclear weapons.

It's all O.K. Commerce in tons of surplus plutonium, although it is a latent form of proliferation, is not a treaty violation.

West Germany is a treaty member in good standing. Its nuclear exports to such non-nuclear countries as India and Pakistan, which are not required to accept the same all-encompassing IAEA inspections that are required of member countries, do not run afoul of the treaty.

There are loopholes that even permit West Germany to export some items essential to producing nuclear weapons materials, such as heavy water and processing equipment, without being in technical violation of the treaty.



The United States and the Soviet Union are treaty parties in good standing despite their 50,000 nuclear weapons because they "pursue negotiations in good faith," as the treaty requires. Certainly, recent negotiations and the political realignment in Europe serve to make possible the first substantial cuts in nuclear arms by the superpowers. But their quantitative nuclear arms race is fast being eclipsed by a qualitative one. Continued testing of weapons, production of materials for weapons and modernization of warheads and missiles keep the superpower nuclear rivalry alive without violating the treaty.

Two sets of improvements to the treaty are needed. First, the trip wire for a treaty violation should be possession of weapons-grade materials, not possession of a weapon.

Second, the treaty must obligate the superpowers to curtail, qualitatively as well as quantitatively, the nuclear rivalry that still serves as the ready excuse for other states to keep their nuclear options open. The superpowers could well halt all testing and weapons-materials production and to a nuclear arms race that grows more lethal even as the superpower arsenals are reduced. Unfortunately, American policy, like that of the U.S.S.R. and most industrial states, is to paper over the nonproliferation treaty's problems. That avoids raising concerns about the nuclear industry and does not challenge the nuclear weapons status quo.

But the time has come to view the treaty without rose-colored glasses.

The writer is president of the Nuclear Control Institute, an independent policy research center concerned with problems of nuclear proliferation. He contributed this comment to *The New York Times*.

As if Arabs Were Held Unworthy

By A. M. Rosenthal

NEW YORK — A country that emerges from one war without knowing why it came about prepares the way for another war — with the same enemy or his clones.

Now, while memories are fresh, is the best time to figure out why Americans find themselves again facing one of the expansionist tyrants who are America's natural enemies, why we are again so surprised by it all.

This is the historical starting point. Arab leaders and the West have treated the Middle East and its people as objects to fulfill their own power, ambitions and lusts.

The Arab leaders made sure to keep tribal or feudal systems and political or religious despotisms intact. That is how they prevent the Middle East from moving into a fresher world, which could challenge or discard them. While much of the world struggled for new political and economic ways, the Arab world has remained ruled by hereditary, military or religious tyrannies and home-made economic monopolies.

With Western support, nations such as India and Japan moved to freedom from foreign colonialism or domestic imperialism. Elections were held from South Korea to Nicaragua. In the past year, the bells rang in Eastern Europe, bringing hope to all who wanted freedom's grace. But in the Middle East, the West looked on benignly as dynastic jokers kept their people in political cellars. Why? For one reason: The West and the Middle Eastern rulers have floated in a pool of assumed common interest — oil.

National boundaries were usually drawn by Western colonial offices. The economic future was decided by a combination of local rulers, Western ministries and oil companies. Western "experts" said solemnly that Arabs and democracy did not mix — religion and tradition, you know.

Too many Western academic and government specialists, writers and journalists came to believe in a mythical Islamic world, a mirage of tolerance, brotherhood and chivalric values. It was a fantasy world where strangers were fed roasted lamb and never ever taken hostage. It satisfied the consciences and ambitions and sometimes scratched the erotic fancies of foreigners who built their careers around the Middle East. (Reading the sensitive, rich books of Bernard Lewis, director of the American Research Institute of Philadelphia and a Princeton University professor, including his latest, "Race and Slavery in the Middle East.")

But it was a fantasy built on the contemptuous idea that Arabs could not aspire to or practice democracy.

The result of the confluence of Arab-Western oil interests and mythology — and later Moscow's arming of Arab dictators — is that not a single Middle Eastern ruler has been freely chosen by his people, not a one.

They rule by heredity or by force, like the Saudis, by co-opting Saddam Hussein, by a non-opposition "referendum," like President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt, or by imposition of the British colonial officer, like King Hussein of Jordan. Yesterday's history, but it has become today's war. Arab rulers tried to protect themselves by making religious fanaticism or malotry for the "Arab nation" the only political currencies in the Middle East. Torture and death are the price of talking about freedom.

The rulers stoked frenzied nationalism. It had to build Saddam Hussein as it did Fatah, Assad of Syria, the terrorist paymaster who is now a 15-minute ally and one day will turn against America again. And in Washington the specialists were so wrapped up in their Middle East fantasies that they refused to hear Saddam's threats until he stuck his gun in their ear.

The Arab nations are dangerous not because Arabs are born with knives in their mouths but because, with American help, only dictators rule. Because they are unchosen, dictators are insecure. Insecure rulers with armies are dangerous by definition.

Time and again America has found itself at war with one of them; democracy and despotism threaten each other. When was the last time it found itself at war with a democracy?

But Arab nationalism is not inevitable or unstoppable. The Arab world has never had a chance to hear freedom-loving dissidents or an elected leader who might argue against hatred and Holy War. We Americans certainly cannot create Arab democracy, but we can support it if it ever begins to appear. Meanwhile, in dejection to people who live under any dictatorship, we can throw away our tales of the Arabian nights.

The New York Times.

For UN-Controlled NATO Intervention in the Gulf

By Frederick Bonhart

BRUSSELS — Attempts are now being made to put the various military forces in the Gulf area under United Nations command. This would solve the political problem of providing assurances that participating countries are acting on behalf of all nations. It would not, however, solve the military problem. The United Nations is not equipped to exercise the highly intricate function of commanding and controlling modern military forces supplied by a number of different countries.

Aircraft, ships and troops with their equipment are pouring into the Gulf area. Large numbers of U.S. and other land-based aircraft are joining Saudi Arabia's not inconsiderable air force. Moreover, at sea, each U.S. carrier — and four are now either in the area or approaching it — has some 80 aircraft, in addition to many helicopters. British and French carriers also will be on the scene.

The augmented air defenses depend on information that must be gathered, collated, analyzed and disseminated so as to result in rapid reaction. At today's speeds of operation the decision period is extremely brief, as was shown by the Iranian airliner disaster in the Gulf War. An air-traffic management problem exists from the start, and would be multiplied a thousandfold in operations where the different roles — reconnaissance, strike, ground attack, air defense — would have to be centrally coordinated.

Naval forces (about 60 ships of eight nations are expected to be in the Gulf by the weekend) need similar

central control. The buildup of U.S. land forces is now being followed by others from other nations. These must be deployed according to a central plan, and, if hostilities break out, would have to be committed in a coordinated manner if they are not to be defeated in detail.

Air and naval actions must be

The NATO countries should take action now to overcome the treaty limitation.

planned and executed in support of land operations. A central command system for all nations and services with its subordinate headquarters, operation centers and radar networks must therefore be set up to make a cohesive whole of all assets available and to use them to greatest effect.

The United States possesses the necessary headquarters, communications and supporting elements to set up such a command arrangement. All NATO forces and some of the others now being sent are trained in common procedures and would be able to integrate with it. They would, however, be under U.S. command. This would be unacceptable not only to them but also to the United States.

Alternative ways of coordinating the military effort are being sought.

France made an immediate move to involve the European Community. Others are looking to the Western European Union to coordinate their efforts. However, the EC, quite apart from the complication of Irish neutrality, is excluded by treaty from dealing with security arrangements. It has, in any case, no mechanism to carry them out. Nor has the Western European Union, which, on its formation in 1954, promptly passed command of all its forces to NATO's supreme commander Europe. (The Western European Union's attempts to set up an ad hoc command arrangement in the Gulf War failed.)

Such a mechanism exists, however. It is a highly sophisticated one, supplied with the most up-to-date technology and served by highly trained personnel; it has been carefully planned, continuously updated and frequently exercised. It is NATO's integrated military structure. Even France, which withdrew from it, remains in the integrated air defense system and is linked with the remainder by bilateral arrangements.

This organization could provide a highly efficient and proven command system with which all non-NATO members could also cooperate. By subordinating itself fully to the United Nations it could overcome any political objections. The French model of maintaining close military links without the need to be shown to be directly

under NATO command could also apply to the friendly Arab states and other non-allied countries, from Australia to the Soviet Union, that are willing to join the action.

Unfortunately, the NATO command system is aimed at a now non-existent foe, and is limited by the North Atlantic Treaty to the protection of Europe, North America and Turkey. The first difficulty could be overcome comparatively easily. To deal with the second would mean a change to the treaty.

Although member governments are reluctant to tamper with the treaty, they are fully aware that the world has undergone a sea change since the pact was signed 41 years ago. They well know that the likely threats to the alliance no longer come from a single close opponent but from friction and instability far afield.

They should now take action to overcome the treaty limitation. Threats or violence to their nationals now held as hostages by Saddam Hussein could, for instance, be considered as an attack on them, and Article 5 of the treaty would then apply.

NATO could thereby provide an efficient command arrangement to deal with the present crisis. In the process, it would show itself to be a universal security organization acting in unison for the common good.

The writer is editor of NATO's Sixteen Nations, an independent military journal published in Brussels. He contributed this comment to the *International Herald Tribune*.

Lo, an Incomes Policy Enforced by Paratroopers

By Bernard D. Nossiter

NEW YORK — The dispatch of part of the 82d Airborne Division to Saudi Arabia, surely the first incomes policy ever enforced by a global force, appears to have transformed the Iraqi economic prospects of the United States.

The importance of the oil price, the object of George Bush's exercise, is hard to overstate. Those with some memory will recall the misery of the 1970s, stagflation, a nasty inflation pinned to mounting unemployment. Advisers to Presidents Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter, including Alan Greenspan, chief economist to Mr. Ford, suffered in impotence, uncertain which menace was greater, unable to deal with either.

It is an exaggeration to blame stagflation exclusively on the steep oil price increase of 1973 and its twin in

1979. The period began with Lyndon Johnson's Vietnam inflation, suffered a global drought that lit a fire under food prices, and saw a complete turn in America's relations with its allies. American consumers lost the windfall of an overvalued currency because postwar policies to revive the allies succeeded.

But the dominant, persistent force in the predicament of the West was the sharp run-up in oil prices. The increase was both a tax to depress jobs and a source of stiff inflation.

Even without the recessions created by Paul Volcker in the early 1980s, U.S. inflation would have collected in time. Oil cartel brothers cheat and produce beyond their quotas; high prices encourage gas, coal and nuclear

energy; fresh profits stimulate exploitation in areas that oil companies have tried to target, like the North Sea. People save on use.

The trouble is that all this takes time and capital. There is no requirement that the industrial world must endure another bout of stagflation so that Saddam Hussein can pay his debts. Surely President Bush was right to ensure that the supply and price of oil not be set by someone else's gun.

The beneficent side effects are little discussed because they touch on awkward matters. The most obvious is the defense budget.

It was unlikely that serious cuts would have been made without Iraq. But even holding the Pentagon constant would have produced a stimulus from an economy on the lip of a recession. Now that is behind us. Americans will be told that "star wars," billion-dollar bombers and tankable aircraft carriers are vital to the free existence of Kuwaitis and anyone else who serves the purpose. Now there will almost surely be an increase in defense spending, a fiscal stimulus.

The Saudi defense should also finish talk of a depressing tax increase for gasoline, on incomes, whatever. New and larger deficits can be subtracted from Gramm-Rudman limits. Some device can be invented to render that peculiar legislation as nugatory as its father, the debt ceiling. In sum, the economy avoids a procrustean fiscal bed that would have chopped off more jobs and output, deepening the incipient slump.

There are no free lunches in economics, of course, and all this is not an unalloyed blessing. Inflationary pressures will increase as output expands. They need not. There is plenty of slack, an unemployment rate nearly 40 percent above the Kennedy administration's temporary targets, lots of idle plant. But General Motors, General Electric, Exxon and the American economy's other economic marshals can raise prices with any quickening of demand (in the case of autos, even without).

That is why political leaders in the '60s, in America and in Europe, invented incomes policies, devices to

restrain the appetites of large corporations and lesser unions without imposing outright controls. The different techniques of John Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson, Helmut Schmidt and Harold Wilson enjoyed only mixed success. But they left some useful experience behind.

In striking at the price of oil far more dramatically than President Kennedy struck at the price of steel, President Bush has revived incomes policy on a heroic scale. If, as is possible, he spares America from stagflation and if, as is equally possible, a rising deficit does not bring down the sky, some long-term benefit may emerge. The country could regain the fruitful postwar understanding of economic forces that was discarded under the last great rise in oil prices.

The writer is author of the just published book "Fat Years and Lean: The Economy Since Roosevelt." He contributed this comment to the *International Herald Tribune*.

Some Aren't Celebrating 1492

By Hans Koning

NEW HAVEN, Connecticut — Throughout America, groups are organizing countercelebrations of the 492nd anniversary of Columbus's landing in the Americas. A New York group, tentatively called Columbus in Context, has its first meeting last month. We are not out to spoil innocent fun. However, the fun is not innocent.

The Indians of the Caribbean were destroyed within two generations by the Spanish discoverers. Not one was converted to the Catholic faith. They died when they were hanged, in rows of 13, in honor of the Redeemer and His twelve Apostles, "according to the original Spanish documents." They had their hands cut off when they did not bring in their quarterly quota of gold dust. Their chiefs were roasted on fires of green wood. Ten years after the first landing, the miserable native survivors started killing themselves by eating poisoned roots.

Christopher Columbus set into motion a sequence of greed, cruelty,

slavery and genocide that, even in the bloody history of mankind, has few parallels. He organized an extermination of native Americans. He was also a mean, cruel and greedy in small matters as he was in vast ones. These aren't new facts. You can find them substantiated in the logs of Columbus's son, in the writings of Bartolome de las Casas, a Spanish bishop and historian of the time, and in plenty of other period documents.

It may seem a pity to let go of dear national lore. But Americans can no longer in good faith celebrate this man and this occasion. We must look at our own past with open eyes. We must end the phony baloney about the white man bringing Christianity, and about Columbus the noble son of the humble weaver.

False heroes and a false sense of the meaning of courage and manliness have too long burdened our national spirit. We must set out for a new highway of races, for an atonement of past crimes. We have a truly New World to discover.

Mr. Koning, the novelist, contributed this to *The New York Times*.

100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

1890: Uruguay Tense

MONTEVIDEO — The situation here is strained, politically and financially, and a storm similar to that which has just subsided in Argentina may burst at any moment. Both the people and the military are intensely irritated by the series of disasters which have fallen upon the Republic since President Herrera came to power in March. The president is on guard and precautions have been taken at the barracks. The populace says that a change in the management of public affairs must come promptly.

1915: America Outraged

NEW YORK — The newspapers throughout the country bitterly condemn the sinking of the White Star liner *Arabic*. The estimated death toll stands at forty-five. *The New York Herald* says: "The Americans on board the *Arabic* had a perfect right to be there. They had every assurance from this Government that it would

omit no word or act to ensure protection to them. The United States has demanded that these rights be respected. Is the German answer one of open defiance? *The Philadelphia Inquirer* says: "The murder of one American must call for positive measures on our part — either that or a confession that we were only bluffing."

1940: Churchill's Speech

LONDON — In a fifty-minute speech to the House of Commons today (Aug. 20) Prime Minister Winston Churchill announced that Great Britain intended to leave to the United States for ninety-nine years some of her naval bases in the West Indies and Newfoundland, in the interests, as he put it, of both America and the whole British Empire. In the House of Lords, Viscount Halifax, Foreign Secretary, added his own assurance that no difficulties would arise in the discussion of details.

— From the *New York edition of the New York Herald Tribune*.



## OPINION

Then if the Iraqi Went Ahead  
It Would Be a Last Roundup

By William Safire

WASHINGTON — The question is no longer "Will there be war?" between the world and Iraq, but "What is the best strategy to win the war already begun with the least loss of life?"

The conflicting choices before George Bush are not secret: two different strategies have been laid out in public by former national security advisers Zbigniew Brzezinski and Henry Kissinger.

The object should be "to squeeze but not strangle Iraq," says the author of the Carter doctrine. Zieg holds that the United States should defend Western access to oil, but not seek to roll back the conquest of Kuwait — to rely on international cooperation to negotiate a compromise with Saddam Hussein rather than try to defeat him.

Henry differs. The goal should be the removal of Saddam Hussein as a threat to the world's economic lifeline, says the author of the Nixon doctrine. A settlement leaving Saddam with growing military might would be "only an interlude between aggressions," writes Mr. Kissinger; he urges "a surgical and progressive destruction of Iraq's military assets" before the world's will dissipates.

I believe that the Brzezinski "squeeze option" was destroyed in the past few days by the Iraqi decision to hold Western nationals as hostages. Saddam's promised starvation of Western children would squeeze the West, not him, to negotiate "peace in our time."

But if President Bush moves quickly, America can counter the Iraqi threat to use American nationals as human shields at military installations. He need not be the third consecutive U.S. president to be humiliated by kidnappers.

Saddam has already told Westerners trapped in Kuwait to assemble at three hotels to be saved

from a threat he will soon cook up. President Bush — with Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and as many other leaders as he can induce to join him — should announce that any "roundup" or harassment of up to 10,000 non-Communist Westerners taken in the capture of Kuwait would be considered an act of war triggering potent military retaliation.

Such fair warning has been delayed, I presume, to permit a buildup of forces in Saudi Arabia.

But action is now urgent. Little can be done at the moment for the two-score Americans already condemned to target duty in Iraq, but a credible threat could protect thousands of others in Kuwait who, once rounded up for designation as human shields, might be doomed.

Suppose Mr. Bush goes on the air quickly to tell the putative hostages in Kuwait to evade capture as long as they can and to urge loyal Kuwaitis to hide them; and suppose he adds that any attempt at a "roundup" will be answered by bombers taking out all Iraqi strategic sites.

In that circumstance, let us consider the options open to Saddam:

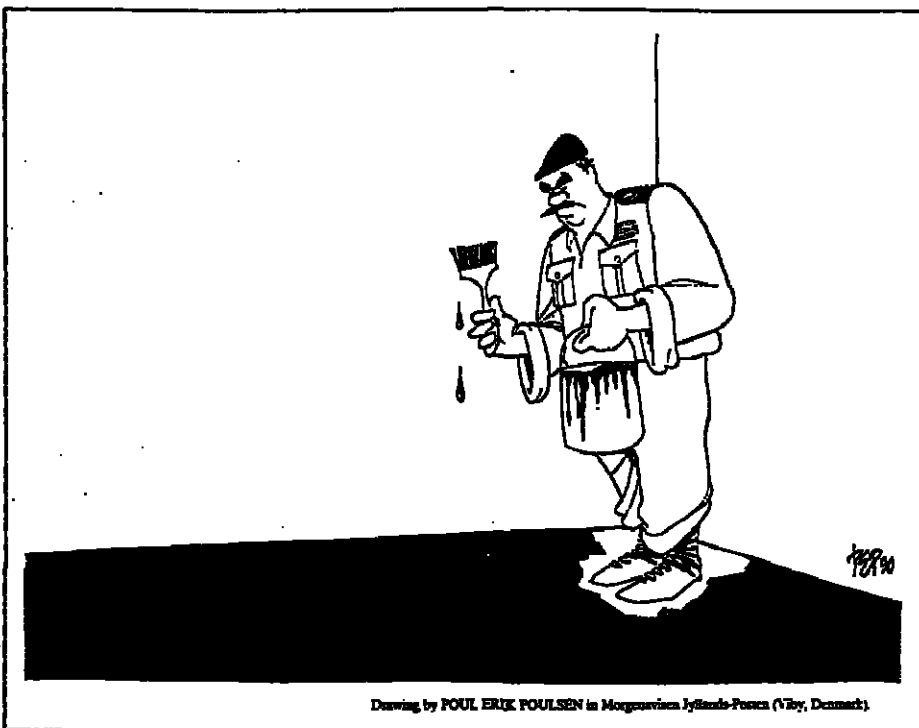
Option One: He could ignore the threat and order his troops to hunt down the foreigners, or promise death to any who do not surrender.

Option Two: He could let the foreign nationals leave as evidence of his desire for peace.

Option Three: He could neither round them up nor let them out; he can say defiantly he will take them prisoner whenever he decides to, but not yet. He is likely to select the first: to order his army to arrest, alive, every non-Kuwaiti in Kuwait.

The United States, with whatever supporting cover it can get from the United Nations, would then carry out its solemn commitment.

It would bomb every key war-making center in



Drawing by POUL ERIK POULSEN in Mogensvejns Jyllands-Posten (Viby, Denmark).

Iraq — nuclear, poison-gas and missile-production installations first — including the tanks assembling on the Saudi border.

In this way, the shooting war would begin as a direct result of Saddam's grab for hostages. His hostage "roundup" would pull America's trigger; kidnapping on top of invasion would call down the ensuing destruction.

The world, and Iraqis, would know why the first nuclear-preventive war was being carried home to its source.

What if he outsmarted us, choosing options two or three? That would prolong the crisis, which is in his interest, but would save the lives

of thousands of trapped innocents — not the central purpose, but no small thing.

By waging a decisive, conventional World War II, the West averts a nuclear World War III.

America's national interest is not primarily to protect an oil supply, or to save its way of life from depression, or to make the world safe for sheikhs, or even to assert the noble principle of collective resistance to aggression. What makes an interest "vital" is its centrality to life and death. The world interest in bringing down Saddam Hussein is to ensure that the means of mass destruction never fall into the hands of a mass murderer.

The New York Times.

A Middle East Fascination  
In the Middle of Nowhere

By Anna Quindlen

WE DIDN'T want to take this vacation. It was the president's idea. I figured we should just call off August on account of invasion, hunker down, and wait for the price of gasoline to reach the folic gras mark.

The president would have none of this. "The American people want to see life go on," he said.

This was not as easy as it sounded. As a patriotic gesture, we bought charcoal briquets and went to the middle of nowhere. The middle of nowhere

## MEANWHILE

was in the middle of a Middle East mania. News followed us to the outdoor art show and the farmer's market.

The village grocery became democracy central. First thing in the morning, the bread delivery man, the milk delivery man and the man who runs the place would be clustered around the cash register, trashing Saddam Hussein and tracking troop deployments.

"I think the president is right on the money," they said.

This is the kind of place where the president is usually right on the money.

The gas station was raucous with gas-line lore, much of it macho and apocryphal. Testosterone filled the air.

War will do that.

You know the drill: "Remember in '79 when you punched out that guy who tried to cut in line to put air in his tires, Phil?" someone says. "Hell," says Phil, "I never punched him out. I ran over his foot. And it was '73."

At the mall, teenagers in heavy-metal T-shirts sullenly absorbed current events. "Saddam Hussein, man," they would say, if they could talk. "He's toast." America has rallied round, and it is something to see.

There's a local angle, no matter what the locality — American kids in khaki, folks like you and me held hostage and empty gas tanks.

The story is writ large: friends, foes, a big bad guy with the sinister mustache of a James Bond villain.

The Iraqis have replaced the Soviets in the civil empire role, much missed since America began playing "I'm O.K., you're O.K." with the Russians.

Polls show that Americans are more possessed by this story than by any in years. People say it's hard to get away from it all because of the magic of cable television, fax machines, computer modems. But this time around it's democracy that's doing us in.

Now that election campaigns bear more of a resemblance to MTV than to statesmanship, we've got two ways to reaffirm what this country stands for.

One is the jury room, with its miraculous ability to turn 12 bumbling U.S. citizens into paragons of diplomacy,

objectivity and thoughtfulness. The other is crisis management. Iraq invades Kuwait and — Bingo! — all Americans become experts on the Middle East, dependence on foreign oil, and chemical warfare.

It's one of the enduring strengths of this country that the average guy at the corner store believes he has some small influence, and some great responsibility.

"That Iraq fellow is going to get what's coming to him," said the man waiting in the barbershop to get his short hair cut shorter. "That's my prediction."

There's something for everyone here.

The word "Vietnam," which keeps cropping up in discussions about troop strength and American involvement, speaks to the collective memory of one generation of Americans.

The word "Hitler," which has been used profusely in discussions of the Iraqi leader, speaks to another. (The public opinion mavens who have been asking people how Saddam Hussein compares to Hitler should be prosecuted for carrying a loaded question.)

The angle for kids: Saddam Hussein is Bart Simpson cubed. Bad attitude.

Life goes on, but not on its usual track. Even the president couldn't keep up the illusion of normalcy.

He vacates well, but he has to watch appearances. People still remember that he went hunting at the tail end of the Panama invasion.

He told the rest of us to go on with our lives, and then instead of staying put in Kennebunkport, with the phone in his golf cart, he took a short trip back to Washington. It was a Daddy vacation. A couple of days in a business suit, a couple of days in a vest with lots of little pockets and hooks and feathers all over it. Takes me back.

This all takes me back. Gas shortages, double-digit inflation, trouble in the Middle East — these are the things that shaped my formative years.

I thought someday we would gather around the Weber kettle and pass them along to our children in stories and song. Now they're experiencing them firsthand. All they hear about is the Middle East, and Lyme disease.

"Are we having a war?" one asked, and in the fashion of my times I answered, "Sort of." Then we toss a Frisbee around, and wait to hear the news from around the world at the roadside produce stand.

The New York Times.

Letters intended for publication should be addressed "Letters to the Editor" and contain the writer's signature, name and full address. Letters should be brief and are subject to editing. We cannot be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

## Off to War in the Gulf?

As a concerned overseas citizen of the United States, alarmed by the imminent prospect of war in the Middle East, I submit that the dispute with Iraq can still be resolved by peaceful means, if only America will:

• Act only as a member of the United Nations, and abide by interpretations of UN rulings as collectively agreed.

• Refrain from any attempt to retake Kuwait by military force, bearing in mind that all residents of Kuwait, aside from the Iraqi occupiers, are either citizens of nations innocent in the current situation or stateless Palestinians, who would be driven further into the camp of Saddam Hussein by such action.

• Continue to support the sanctions voted by the United Nations, but permit the passage of food and medicines. It should never be the policy of the United States to starve a people into submission.

• Make sure, above all, that American forces are not provoked into drastic action. Too many wars have begun through trigger-happy, and erroneous, perceptions. Let us also cool our rhetoric.

American forces have landed in Saudi

Arabia only with the consent of that state's autocratic regime and not with the endorsement of the United Nations. Those few states that have sent token forces do not fully share U.S. aims, but follow their own self-interest.

No matter what happens, Americans will in the future pay a far higher price for oil. A war certainly will not bring oil prices down. Far worse, it would probably disrupt the American economy, and that of the world.

Saddam Hussein, evil though he is, appears to speak for the aspirations of a very large proportion of Arabs — for the have-nots as opposed to the haves. Their legitimate aspirations should be addressed constructively.

There is no parliamentary democracy in Kuwait. Must the United States restore a wealthy oligarchy?

I am one of the many Americans who live overseas due to various demands of duty or opportunity. I am proud to be an American. I cherish the highest values of America and not an "American way of life" if that means the enrichment of America at the expense of the world.

JOHN G. MORRIS,  
Paris.

Much has been written about the virtual impossibility of defending against attacks with chemical weapons, especially in a desert environment. This leaves the forces defending Saudi Arabia only one option: the immediate and total destruction of Iraq's military capabilities, thereby assuring their inability to launch such an attack.

WOLF OPPENHEIMER,  
Ascona, Switzerland.

George Bush has sent troops to Saudi Arabia. Why? This may be an emergency, but it is not yet a crisis. If Saddam Hussein becomes a martyr to Arab nationalism, Saudi oil fields are crippled and young American lives are lost, then it will indeed become one.

VALDI INKENS,  
Willowdale, Ontario.

In response to various reports in your pages about statements by King Hussein of Jordan on the invasion and conquest of Kuwait: Will the real King Hussein please stand up?

MAURICE W. BATTIEY,  
Valbonne, France.

## About India's Borrowing

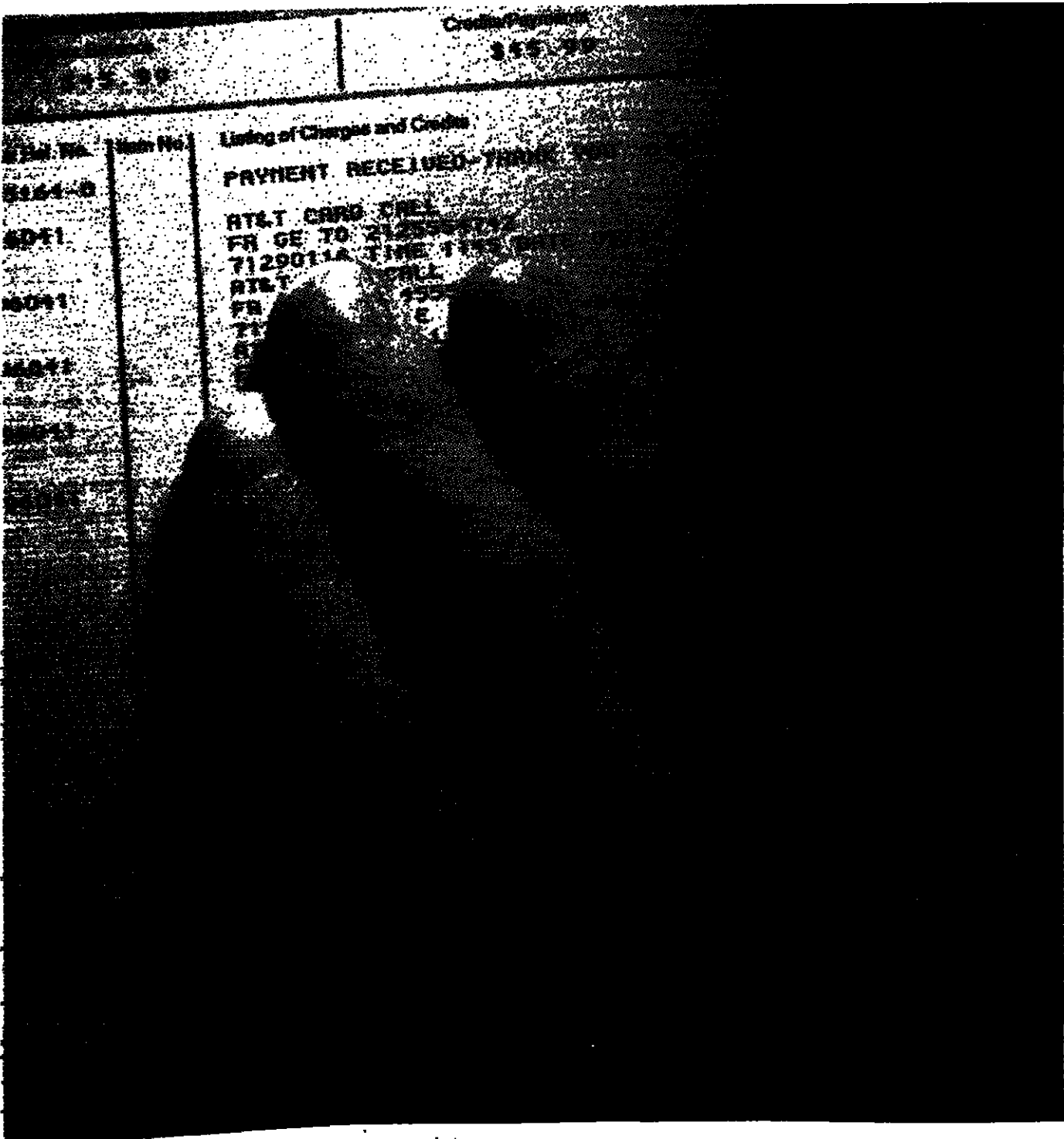
Regarding the reports "India Faces Crisis in Commercial Borrowing" (Aug. 8) and "India Officially Denies Facing Credit Crunch" (Aug. 14):

Contrary to the Aug. 8 report, there was no withdrawal of a loan offer of \$150 million by Japanese banks. The Oil and Natural Gas Commission (ONGC) invited bids from Japanese banks for a 10-year loan on conventional and tax-sparing arrangements in equal parts. Instead of going in for this loan, the ONGC decided to move to the Samurai bond market. A bond issue with a 10-year bullet maturity was mandated, and an issue of 30 billion yen is now awaiting completion.

A change of borrowing plan by ONGC can hardly be construed as a want of confidence by Japanese banks.

The report of bankers turning down a \$150 million loan to the Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation of India (referred to in the Aug. 8 dispatch as International Credit for Indian Commerce and Industry) is also incorrect. This has been clarified in a press release by one of the lenders, ANZ Grindlays, describing the Reuters report as "erroneous."

M. P. PINTO,  
Minister (Economic),  
Embassy of India,  
Paris.

Quick! Who did you call  
on the night of May 25th?

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The right choice.



Vivienne Westwood and a range of designs from her 1990 collections: To jaded tastes, everything about her was silly, knowing and completely irresistible.

## Vivienne Westwood: 'Batty' Fashions on the Verge of Boom

By Guy Lesser

**F**LORENCE — Anyone who's ever seen old Hollywood movies knows exactly what a successful couturier should be: small, dapper and temperamental, only really in his element when throwing tantrums or torturing matronly American clients or mumbling caustic bon mots at a fitting through a mouthful of pias. The audience of his fashion shows — always prim, elegant affairs — are ladies in pillbox hats who clap with their white gloves on, and his models always icy Valkyries with perfectly even features and ever perfect poise.

Then there's Vivienne Westwood.

Though she might be willing now to concede that her twin sets with pearls for men have never quite caught on, and even that blouses with sleeves of wildly different lengths won't ever perhaps become widely popular, she's increasingly regarded, especially within the fashion community, as one of the decade's most consistent trendsetters and innovators. About as far across the spectrum from the matinee movie fantasy as one can go. Westwood is female, English working class in origin, a primary schoolteacher by training, and the former long-term consort of Malcolm McLaren, the founder and manager of the infamous punk band the Sex Pistols.

Yet, the list of her ideas — usually called

"batty" by detractors and "advanced" by her advocates — that have swept the world of fashion is formidable. Among them the giant polka-dot tops (which have been more usually credited to Madonna or Jean-Paul Gaultier), the formless jersey tube skirt and the crinoline hoop minidress, whose festive silhouette was first picked up by Christian Lacroix and then copied from him by a host of others.

*'England is full of uniforms — from the queen down to the schoolboy,' says Vivienne Westwood.*

Now, as she is seemingly on the verge of a huge international success as financial backers in England and a major manufacturer in Italy are about to come to terms with her, debate about Westwood has once again been kindled.

Originally, she explains, she wanted to become an artist. Soon after her parents moved south to Harrow from the industrial region near Manchester, she enrolled at the local art college, but dropped out after a term. "I was so working class, I couldn't cope with the idea of how I was going to make a living, so I decided to be a secretary."

**S**HE went to work in a factory hoping to save enough money for a secretarial course. "Then, after I'd been at the factory a year, I had another plan. I thought, 'I'll train to be a schoolteacher because I can take art as my main subject.'"

Although Westwood had hoped that she would figure out some way to earn money "doing art,"

she didn't. Instead she married Derek Westwood, had a child and taught elementary school in the dreary London suburb of Willesden. After two and a half years, her marriage broke up, and while selling jewelry part time on Portobello Road to help make ends meet, she met an ambitious student six years her junior who thought they could do well together operating a stall somewhere "selling used '50s records to trendy people." This was Malcolm McLaren.

By the mid-1970s the punk era had dawned. The stall had turned into a shop — still in operation at 430 Kings Road — and, after a brief stint managing the notorious New York Dolls, McLaren created the successful and even more notorious Sex Pistols, thereby making both himself and Westwood underground celebrities. When she wasn't looking after now two young sons, Westwood turned out punk, neo-50s fashions, which caught on with punks

and musicians, and then more widely among London's club scene.

With the 1980s, Westwood began breaking through to a wider market. To jaded tastes, everything about her was silly, knowing and completely irresistible: Collection names like Seditionaries, Buffalo Girls and Clint Eastwood. Models who looked less like manikins than upmarket prostitutes, the lead singers of all-girl heavy-metal bands, or sailors fresh from a drunken binge on shore leave.

Then there were the clothes: white net tutus paired with baby-blue leather corsets, Harris tweed jackets shown with matching cloth crowns and chignon toppers, garments that were sometimes cut with neck or arm holes displaced to achieve an unorthodox fit.

As Westwood's ideas and designs began consistently reappearing in the collections of French, Japanese, Italian, American and other English designers — often translated into major mainstream critical and financial successes and sometimes only a season or so after being ridiculed as weird or unwearable — even the staunchest of her detractors were forced to take her work more seriously.

But the big deals and licensing offers that seemed always in the air never quite materialized. Or did, and turned sour. And so, for a time, Westwood fled to Italy.

She says, however, that she soon found she missed English fabric: "I really felt deprived."

Not for their variety or quality, but for their expressive range of secondary social connotations.

"England," Westwood said, "is full of uniforms — from the queen down to the schoolboy," a legacy of both the British Empire and the structure of 19th-century society. The result, she contends, is that "nearly every English fabric has got this charge of content to it — red beret, for example, means fox hunting, while city pin-stripes, obviously, mean the City."

**T**HAT, she said, is exactly the sort of thing in her work she finds exciting and satisfying. "When I do fashion I have to have brain stimulation in quite a conscious way."

Accordingly, she returned to London four years ago, and has been working nonstop and flat out ever since. Her social life, she quipped, is confined almost exclusively these days to chatting with reporters.

But even with reporters, she prefers talking about almost anything but work. Her conversation, not unlike her collections, usually covers surprisingly varied ground, with bold statements in rapid-fire order, frequently peppered with quotations from John Stuart Mill, André Gide and Aldous Huxley (whom she likes) and pronouncements about Jane Austen, Sing and Beethoven (whom she doesn't).

She is happiest of all when deploring the state of the world, especially the United States, all forms of mass culture, conformity, the decline of high culture and the quality of the English system of publicly funded education. She says that even when she was a teacher her natural sympathies were always with "the naughtiest ones who were reacting against it."

And the future? This, though more promising than ever, especially on two fronts, does begin to sound at times a bit oddly like the past.

Her discussions with backers in England — aimed at finally providing Westwood a solid financial base and sophisticated professional business management — sound a complaint she has made regularly. And her likely partner in her first major menswear collection, Marco Rivetti of GFT, also makes clothing for Giorgio Armani, the principal figure in Westwood's previous Italian story (now a subject of litigation).

Her latest work, the collection GFT is negotiating to manufacture, consists of nearly 70 outfits unveiled to the fashion press and Florence's beau monde last month at a gala dinner attended by more than 500. Few wore pillbox hats, but neither were they suited in the main by Westwood. What did they think of satin frock coats, stovepipe top hats and prefabricated mechanically elated jeans worn as an ensemble? "Batty." "Unwearable." "Advanced."

Guy Lesser is a writer who lives in Italy.

## SEPTEMBER MADRID

6

MODA

9

REGALO-FAMA

14

REGALO-FAMA

18

BISUTEX

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BISUTEX

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OPTOLEC

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OPTOLEC

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FIDEC

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FIDEC

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FIDEC

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INMODA

30

ANIMODA

INTERNATIONAL FASHION WEEK

International Women's Fashion Fair: Imagenmoda - Intermoda

REGALO-FAMA

International Gift Fair

BISUTEX

Costume Jewelry Fair

OPTOLEC

Laser and Electrooptics Show

FIDEC

International Sporting Goods Trade Show

INMODA

Imported Women's Fashion Fair

## STYLE MAKERS

### Valerie Louthan TOPS IN CASHMERE

**L**ONDON — The opening of an exhibition of Inca work in Paris in 1973 was attended by a young British designer who had recently started her own business. Valerie Louthan spotted a woven vicuña cape, part of the long evolution of easy, warm, one-size-fits-all coverings that require little tailoring. It was to inspire her fashion signature and influence haute couturiers around the world.

This garment is known in the trade as an "accessory," just a square with a slit up the middle and a blanket stitch around the edges," she explains. "I tried it on and thought, 'What a beautiful shape. I don't see why it couldn't be made in cashmere too.' Five years later, Gloria Vanderbilt was quoted as saying she had 14 Louthans.

Louthan was the first designer to make knitted shawls (cashmere only, except for the new silk knitted one) but they were not copied for a long time. Louthan says, "I always think, 'more fool them if they don't.' Her wraps have now been copied in every known fabric in a vast price range.

Born in Ireland, Louthan, with her three siblings, lived in Scotland under the eye of a governess until she was 12. The kids learned to shoot rabbits and climbed out of the windows early in the morning to pursue the game. It was so isolated in the country that she became an avid reader — "there was nothing else to do." Another activity was making clothes for dolls.

She had wanted to be a painter but was so intimidated by warnings about starving in a garret that she opted for the Leicester Design College, moving afterward to the well-known Braemar knitting firm. They were making underwear, shapeless cashmere twin sets and special socks for leg amputees. Fascinated with the technicalities if not the stock, Louthan went back to Leicester for a six-month intensive knitting structure course.

By 1962, she had designed an all-over printed cashmere cardigan in one of Liberty's old block prints. She brought it to New York as part of the Braemar collection and Diane Vreeland put it on the cover of Vogue. Eight years later, she bought a former Ballantine factory.

"The bank said they didn't particularly like red-haired, female, financial entrepreneurs but they'd let me have a little go," she says. In one corner of the building, six "hand-knitters" — commercial machines — were installed, samples made and the collection shown in New York the following year. In this first solo season, she had windows in two Fifth Avenue stores.

N. Peal, renowned for its cashmere shop in London's Burlington Arcade, began selling her luxurious styles in 1972. The firm recently signed an agreement with Louthan, forming a company to wholesale her merchandise. This puts her in the happy vertical position of losing the financial and manufacturing worries and doing what she does best: design. Peal is pleased. With the price of cashmere rocketing (up about 300 percent in the last 20 years), they have wedded two top names in cashmere.

The deal enables Louthan to breathe more easily as she closes up her Devon country house before moving to Palm Beach with her

Scottish husband, Ian. "I always longed to live in the States, especially with another foreigner. I still want to be athletic in my time off and no matter how hot it gets there, I can still bicycle 12 miles a day. And play tennis and snowed and ride. It's skiing and shooting that will be out in the cold. As for her work, Louthan has always designed on the backs of envelopes on airplanes and trains, so why not there?

There are 35 new cashmere designs for winter. The clothes are dressier — "You're not going to knock about in the grass in these expensive knits." Beauties like the new cashmere wrap in red, chestnut, violet or black with a six-inch, face framing, black double silk taffeta ruffle. Rouched velvet and braid trim the neck and cuffs of an off-the-shoulder fitted black cashmere dress; silk brocade and mat gold buttons enrich a blouse jacket front and its cuffs. All elegant and timeless. Shawls in vibrant colors are available, too, and three-quarter length ribbed sweaters, plus culottes, jumpsuits and pants.

Years ago, in a time of concern, the famous skirt designer, Stella Slocat told her something that stuck. "Don't worry," she said. "The cream always comes to the top." Valerie Louthan is there.

Claire Frankel



Valerie Louthan: Capes inspired by the Incas.

ACROSS

1 Fragrance

6 Org. protecting animals

10 — Angeles

13 Term of endearment

14 King of comedy

15 Pitcher's no-no

16 North Sea Isle under British control: 1945-52

18 Sidelick of Amos

19 Monsieur, in Madrid

20 Leaves helpless

22 Tar

24 Cousins of a Ph.D.

25 Fountain order

26 Join

30 Holiday and Severnians

32 Witch birds

33 Gumbo

35 Gladden

37 Make almost as good as new

38 Candy — (nurse's aide)

41 Had supper

42 Agitate

44 — do-well

46 Roman tyrant

48 Kind of ride or stack

47 Sea birds

48 Pa. city

50 R.P.I. is one

52 Vowel omission

54 Domesticated

58 Romanian city

59 Massive election triumphs

62 Emerges victorious

63 Those people

64 More mature

65 Conducted

66 Positive

67 Approaches

3 Eye amorously

4 Chief

5 Rival of Sparta and Athens

6 Maglie or Bando of baseball

7 Trounce

8 Jargon

9 Pianist Previn or Watts

10 Certain gardener

11 Classic auto

12 Firmament

15 Hair preparation

17 W. J. Bryan was one

21 Viper

23 Prefers

26 Red quartz

28 — a million

27 Attraction at Anaheim

28 Some heavenly bodies

31 Dutch genre painter

34 Man of Tibet, e.g.

36 Bobbles the ball

38 Scents

40 Lovers' meetings

43 Painter's aid

46 Sandy's skirts

51 Eagle's weapon

52 Another Pa. city

53 Honolulu's island

55 Eight furlongs

56 Old Icelandic work

57 Source of venison

58 Leather piercer

60 Color

61 Undergrad. bigwig

Solution to Previous Puzzle

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**Monday's Prices**  
NASDAQ prices as of 4 p.m. New York time.  
This list compiled by the AP, consists of the 1,000  
most traded securities in terms of dollar value. It  
is updated twice a week.

12-Month High-Low	Stock	Div. Yield	P/E
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**Monday's Closing**  
Tables include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street and do not reflect late trades elsewhere. Via The Associated Press

**12 Month**                      **S<sub>0</sub>**

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M-N									
15%	MAC	38	21	31	8%	24	24	24	24
15%	MAR	48	133	7	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%
15%	MAS	48	133	7	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%
15%	MAT	48	133	7	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%
15%	MAV	48	133	7	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%
15%	MAW	48	133	7	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%
15%	MAZ	48	133	7	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%
15%	MBI	48	133	7	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%
15%	MBL	48	133	7	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%
15%	MBN	48	133	7	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%
15%	MBP	48	133	7	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%
15%	MBR	48	133	7	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%
15%	MBT	48	133	7	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%
15%	MBU	48	133	7	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%
15%	MBV	48	133	7	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%
15%	MBW	48	133	7	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%
15%	MBX	48	133	7	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%
15%	MBY	48	133	7	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%
15%	MBZ	48	133	7	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%
15%	MCB	48	133	7	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%
15%	MCC	48	133	7	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%
15%	MCD	48	133	7	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%
15%	MCE	48	133	7	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%
15%	MCF	48	133	7	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%
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15%	MCM	48	133	7	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%
15%	MCN	48	133	7	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%
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15%	MCN	48	133	7	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%
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15%	MCP	48	133	7	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%
15%	MCR	48	133	7	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%
15%	MCS	48	133	7	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%
15%	MCT	48	133	7	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%
15%	MCU	48	133	7	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%
15%	MCV	48	133	7	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%
15%	MCH	48	133	7	4%	4%	4%	4%	

- Sales figures are unaffected. Yearly highs and lows reflect the previous 36 weeks plus the current week, but not the trading day. Where a split or stock dividend amounting to 25% or more has been declared, the year's high-low range and dividends are shown for the new stock unit. Unless otherwise indicated, all prices are annual distributions based on the latest declaration.
- a - Annual (a).
- b - annual rate of dividend plus stock dividend.
- c - Roundabout dividend.
- d - called.
- e - new yearly low.
- f - dividend declared or paid in preceding 12 months.
- g - dividend in Canadian funds, subject to 15% non-residence.
- h - dividend declared after split-up or stock dividend.
- i - dividend held this year, omitted, deferred, or no action taken.
- j - dividend declared or paid this year, on accumulative basis.
- k - dividend declared or paid this year, on noncumulative basis.
- l - new issue in the next 36 weeks. The high-low range begins with the first date of trading.
- m - next day delivery.
- P/E - price-earnings ratio.
- n - dividend declared or paid in preceding 12 months, plus stock dividend.
- o - dividend declared or paid in preceding 12 months.
- p - sales.
- q - dividend sold by stock in preceding 12 months, estimated cost value as to dividend or ex-distribution date.
- r - close weekly high.
- s - trading netted.
- t - in bank/survey or receivable or being reorganized under Chapter 11 Act, or securities assumed by such companies.
- u - shares distributed.
- wf - when issued.
- x - without warrants.
- y - no-dividend ex-rights.
- z - no distribution.
- zz - without warrant.
- v - no-dividend and sales in total.
- z-z - field.
- z - notes in full.



**Monday's Closing**  
include the nationwide prices up to  
ing on Wall Street and do not reflect  
s elsewhere. Via The Associated Press

12	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100
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**NYSE High-Low**[illegible]

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## EUROPE

## East German Inflation Jumps

**Reuter**  
**BONN** — Consumer prices in East Germany jumped in July following the introduction of the Deutsche mark, but they were still below the level of a year earlier, said Germany's Economics Ministry Monday.

The figures, which the ministry said "pleased," suggested East Germany would not fall victim to runaway inflation as it hurried to embrace Western ways after 40 years of Communist central planning.

Separately, a ministry report said West Germany's trade and current account surpluses will narrow as a result of unification with East Germany.

"Significant added demand for goods, in light of Germany's full capacity utilization in Germany, will lead to higher imports and to a desired reduction in potential trade conflicts," the report said.

Consumer prices in East Germany rose 7.5 percent in July from June, but were 5.5 percent below the average level of 1989, the ministry said.

The figures were the first official indication of the effect of monetary union, which took place July 1.

"These figures are generally seen as pleasing," the ministry said in a statement.

"This is particularly true if one considers that they were recorded in the first month after the introduction of the Deutsche mark and prices are now being completely restructured."

Prices of some goods rose sharply as East Germany's previously generous subsidies were cut. Charges for sending letters and packages surged 230 percent, bread and other baked goods jumped 122 percent and restaurant prices shot up 88 percent, for example.

In contrast, prices of other goods

that had been scarce in East Germany fell as western imports flooded the market. Coffee is now 57 percent cheaper, tropical fruits are down 52 percent and television sets have fallen by 40 percent.

The flood of Western imports out of the market, however, causing unemployment to rise sharply and pushing sectors such as farming to the brink of bankruptcy.

Prices on everyday goods have fluctuated wildly around the country, with East Berlin and areas bordering on West Germany the cheapest, and outlying regions the most expensive.

Inflation, price variations and other characteristics of capitalist society did not officially exist in communist East Germany.

Monday's figures first appeared in Bonn, an indication of West Germany's increasing control of the East German economy.

## EC Probes Dumping By Japan

**The Associated Press**  
**BRUSSELS** — The European Community opened an investigation Monday into imports of disposable Japanese lighters and said it will reconsider ending anti-dumping duties imposed in 1985, on hydraulic excavators from Japan.

The separate moves followed requests for protection by EC producers of these products against allegedly unfair competition from Japan manufacturers.

Four EC makers of disposable lighters — BIC SA and Swedish Match of France, Poppel BV of the Netherlands and Spain's Lefort SA — seek anti-dumping duties on imports of such lighters imported by K.K. Tokai Corp. of Yokohama.

They complained these imports reached more than 88.5 million in 1989, up from 24.8 million in 1986, because of unreasonably low prices.

This boosted Japan's EC market share to 20 percent from 5 percent, forced three EC lighter makers out of business and caused serious financial losses for EC lighter makers, the complaint said.

The case against 12 Japanese makers of hydraulic excavators of up to 35 tons dates back to 1985 when the EC imposed anti-dumping duties on the machines.

The duties stabilized Japanese excavator imports at less than 1,200 units a year and, in January, the EC Commission said therefore it would lift the duties.

But on Monday it said it will reconsider that after the Federation of Manufacturers of Construction Equipment and Cranes, an EC trade group, asked that the duties be maintained.

## Stock Prices Decline On European Bourses

**Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches**

Most European stock markets suffered on Monday as investors, cowed by the military buildup in the Gulf, generally stayed on the sidelines, dealers said.

"We are saying just one thing to our clients — sell," said a broker in Milan, where the MIB index, which shed 3.8 percent on Friday, plunged another 4.53 percent to close at the year's low of 865.

In Frankfurt, the DAX-30 index dropped 30.19 points, or 1.8 percent, to close at 1,635.69. The index slumped 3.6 percent on Friday.

In London, the FTSE 100 index dropped 30.19 points, or 1.8 percent, to close at 1,635.69. The index slumped 3.6 percent on Friday.

Klaus Stuber of Berenberg Bank said: "If it were to come to a military confrontation, prices might even stabilize. It is the continued uncertainty which is really rocking prices."

In London, a firm opening on

Wall Street helped British shares edge up from the day's lows, but the overall tone remained weak and there were few buyers, dealers said. The Financial Times 100-share index closed 20.3 points down at 2,156.6, after touching a low of 2,149.2. The index plunged 2 percent Friday.

In Paris, the CAC-40 index fell below 1,600 for the first time since March 1989, after opening at a 1990 low. It partially rebounded, but ended 3.2 percent down at 1,611.92, a fall of 53.08 points on the day.

The CAC-40 had been quoted as low as 1,587.58 during the morning.

Paris Bourse dealers reported London-based and Japanese institutions had been selling during the morning, having been absent as the Gulf crisis broke in early August.

The Zurich market hit a low for the year before the first round of trading ended. The SPI index fell to a low of 1,039.7 before it recovered to 1,040.1, a loss of 17.2 points, or 1.63 percent.

(Reuters, AFP)

## Investor's Europe

Frankfurt Commerzbank	London F.T. 100 Index	Paris CAC 40
2500	2450	2200
2400	2350	2100
2300	2250	2000
2200	2150	1900
2100	2050	1800
2000	1950	1700
1900	1850	1600
1800	1750	1500
1700	1650	1400
1600	1550	1300
1500	1450	1200
1400	1350	1100
1300	1250	1000
1200	1150	900
1100	1050	800
1000	950	700
900	850	600
800	750	500
700	650	400
600	550	300
500	450	200
400	350	100
300	250	0
200	150	0
100	50	0
0	0	0

Sources: Reuters, AFP

## ICI Setting Up Unit in Poland

**Warsaw** — The British chemicals giant Imperial Chemical Industries PLC said Monday it is setting up a wholly owned subsidiary in Poland, its first in Eastern Europe.

ICI said it is the first major international firm to form a 100 percent-owned company in Poland, where the Solidarity-led government is wooing foreign investors as it tries to build a Western-style free market economy.

Peter Schellack, director of ICI Poland Ltd., said it would provide a base for the whole group to explore opportunities in Poland.

## BP Sets Plan to Auction Off Netherlands-based Gas Unit

**The Associated Press**  
**LONDON** — British Petroleum Co. said Monday it plans to auction off its gas exploration and production holding company in the Netherlands.

BP refused to disclose the estimated value of BP Exploration BV, a wholly owned subsidiary of British Petroleum Nederland.

The subsidiary holds stakes in 23 offshore blocks and two on shore. And analysts said the offer would fetch between \$60 million and \$70 million.

The fields produce 14 million standard cubic feet (4.2 million standard cubic meters) of natural gas each day, said a British Petro-

leum spokesman, who spoke on condition of anonymity.

The yield is 1.2 percent of British Petroleum's world production and 2.1 percent of the company's European production, the spokesman said.

The company added that the fields include two areas being developed which could add a further 3 million standard cubic feet to the unit's daily production.

John Browne, head of BP's exploration activities, said the proposed sale "is in line with our recent review of worldwide activities and future strategic direction" which will focus on the company's core producing assets.

Richard Brakenhoff of the Dutch merchant bank Pierson, Holding

## NYSE

**Monday's Closing**  
 Tables include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street and do not reflect late trades elsewhere. Via The Associated Press

(Continued)

12 Month	High	Low	Open	Close	Net	12 Month	High	Low	Open	Close	Net
IBM	120	115	118	116	-2	IBM	120	115	118	116	-2
AT&T	45	43	44	43	-1	AT&T	45	43	44	43	-1
GE	35	33	34	33	-1	GE	35	33	34	33	-1
Westinghouse	25	23	24	23	-1	Westinghouse	25	23	24	23	-1
Rockwell	15	13	14	13	-1	Rockwell	15	13	14	13	-1
Boeing	10	9	9	9	0	Boeing	10	9	9	9	0
Lockheed	8	7	7	7	0	Lockheed	8	7	7	7	0
Northrop	6	5	5	5	0	Northrop	6	5	5	5	0
Raytheon	4	3	3	3	0	Raytheon	4	3	3	3	0
Grumman	3	2	2	2	0	Grumman	3	2	2	2	0
General Dynamics	2	1	1	1	0	General Dynamics	2	1	1	1	0
McDonnell Douglas	1	0	0	0	0	McDonnell Douglas	1	0	0	0	0

12 Month	High	Low	Open	Close	Net	12 Month	High	Low	Open	Close	Net
IBM	120	115	118	116	-2	IBM	120	115	118	116	-2
AT&T	45	43	44	43	-1	AT&T	45	43	44	43	-1
GE	35	33	34	33	-1	GE	35	33	34	33	-1
Westinghouse	25	23	24	23	-1	Westinghouse	25	23	24	23	-1
Rockwell	15	13	14	13	-1	Rockwell	15	13	14	13	-1
Boeing	10	9	9	9	0	Boeing	10	9	9	9	0
Lockheed	8	7	7	7	0	Lockheed	8	7	7	7	0
Northrop	6	5	5	5	0	Northrop	6	5	5	5	0
Raytheon	4	3	3	3	0	Raytheon	4	3	3	3	0
Grumman	3	2	2	2	0	Grumman	3	2	2	2	0
General Dynamics	2	1	1	1	0	General Dynamics	2	1	1	1	0
McDonnell Douglas	1	0	0	0	0	McDonnell Douglas	1	0	0	0	0

## Questions Raised on DAF's Future

**Reuter**  
**AMSTERDAM** — DAF NV, which is due on Wednesday to report results for the first half of 1990, might not survive much longer as an independent truck manufacturer, analysts said Monday.

The Anglo-Dutch company lacks the financial muscle of its larger European competitors and will find it increasingly difficult to bear the huge costs of developing new vehicles, they said.

"I don't think DAF will be able to go it alone much longer," said Richard Brakenhoff of the Dutch merchant bank Pierson, Holding

on Pierson. "Development costs have become too high."

Mr. Brakenhoff said he expected further consolidation of the European truck industry, with only three or four big producers surviving.

Bert Zeilmans, of F. Van Lanschot Bankiers, said spiraling development costs made it logical for DAF to find a partner.

"The writing has been on the wall since the cooperation pact announced by Renault and Volvo earlier this year," he said.

DAF has already said it will post a first-half net loss of 20 million to 30 million guilders (\$11.4 million to \$17.1 million), compared with a 74.5 million guilders profit a year ago, because of sharply lower sales in Britain.

The company chairman, Aart van der Pelt, said DAF would recover in the second half and post a profit for all of 1990, albeit much lower than the 1989 net profit of 171.7 million guilders.

But analysts doubt whether the company can turn around so quickly, and some expect DAF to skip payment of a 1990 dividend after a payout of 2.50 guilders in 1989.

Mr. Aytun of BZW said until recently, he had expected a full year profit of about 30 million guilders. "But if anything conditions have deteriorated in the last few months," he said.

DAF has been losing money since 1985. It outlined a recovery plan in July under which the company would shed several divisions and holdings not related to its core business.

The executives said the plan's success hinges on three conditions, none of which is assured at present: financial backing from shareholders and creditors, the willingness of unions to accept job cuts and adequate sales volume.

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## Rabobank Net Climbs 10%

**Reuter**  
**UTRECHT, Netherlands** — The Dutch cooperative bank Rabobank Nederland RA, said Monday that its net profit rose 10 percent in the first six months of the year.

Rabobank, the first of the large Dutch banks to publish its six-month results, also said it expected higher profits for the full year.

The bank said net earnings totaled 488 million guilders (\$278.5 million) in the period, up from 443 million guilders a year earlier. In 1989, full-year profits were 898 million guilders.

"A clearly higher result than 1989 seems possible, even though growth will lag slightly behind the profit growth for the first half-year," the bank said in a statement.

The bank noted the coming half-year was surrounded by many uncertainties. Rabobank expected the interest rate margin to be squeezed further while the growth in costs would accelerate.

Substantial demand for loans from companies boosted the bank's credit operations. Higher interest rates in the Netherlands led to a lower volume of new mortgages.

## DAIMLER: West German Giant Fails to Meet Some Expectations in East

(Continued from first finance page)  
 and infrastructure up to Western standards.

That investment is also well shy of the 5 billion DM that Volkswagen AG is putting into its joint venture with VEB IFA Kombinat Personentransport to produce passenger cars in East Germany.

Adam Opel AG, the West German subsidiary of General Motors Corp., is also involved in a joint venture to produce cars with Automobil-Werk Eisenach, another East German auto maker.

Those deals were concluded in March, before East Germany's first free elections. And they have

proved the exception rather than the rule.

The levels of investment are below what was expected and are slowing the creation of a market economy in East Germany, government officials in Bonn and East Berlin say.

Dieter Vogel, a spokesman for the West German government, acknowledged that investment has not been flowing as freely as both governments had hoped.

"Western European and West German companies are hesitating at this time," he said. "It could be too much was expected too soon."

The finance minister of East Germany, Walter Romberg, said

he was disappointed with the levels of investment by West German companies.

In an interview on East German television, Mr. Romberg laid some blame on the East German Economics Ministry, which he said had not done enough to develop "completely new offers and projects."

And his critics suggest Mr. Reuter has another reason for proceeding slowly, because Daimler-Benz is digesting the largest corporate expansion in its history.

Since becoming chairman three years ago, Mr. Reuter has pushed the company through a transformation into a diversified, high-technology conglomerate based on

four main divisions: automotive, aerospace, electronics and consulting.

**Mercedes Scraps Plan**  
 Mercedes-Benz AG said Monday it had scrapped a plan to jointly produce a truck with IFA-Nutzfahrzeug GmbH of East Germany, whose business has ground to a halt following the economic merger of the two Germanys, Reuters reported from Stuttgart.

A company spokesman said Mercedes and the East German truck maker were now looking into assembling medium-weight Mercedes trucks at IFA's site in the East German town of Ludwigfelde.

## REPUBLIC NEW YORK CORPORATION

## Consolidated Statements of Condition

Assets	June 30, 1990	June 30, 1989	Liabilities and Shareholders' Equity	June 30, 1990	June 30, 1989
Cash and due from banks	\$ 318,920	\$ 288,222	Non-interest bearing deposits:	\$ 830,776	\$ 737,025
Interest bearing deposits with banks	8,882,201	10,618,077	In domestic offices	71,967	80,923
Precious metals	985,230	206,047	Interest bearing deposits:	9,773,489	7,681,286
Investment securities	6,352,911	4,367,783	In domestic offices	9,570,211	7,707,456
Trading account assets	59,467	140,038	In foreign offices	19,248,423	16,206,880
Federal funds sold and securities purchased under resale agreements	731,008	94,772	Total deposits	2,584,910	2,650,088
Loans, net of unearned income	8,923,189	6,034,474	Acceptances outstanding	2,017,300	2,259,987
Allowance for possible loan losses	(253,137)	(173,951)	Accrued interest payable	230,703	278,404
Loans (net)	8,670,052	5,860,523	Due to factored clients	448,879	327,972
Customers' liability on acceptances	2,010,434	2,253,065	Other liabilities	847,686	683,279
Premises and equipment	386,659	369,333	Long-term debt, excluding perpetual capital notes	2,258,724	2,718,919
Accrued interest receivable	336,758	335,597	Perpetual capital notes constituting primary capital	150,000	150,000
Investment in affiliate	600,217	718,489	Stockholders' Equity:		
Total assets	\$29,198,860	\$25,718,222	Accumulated preferred stock, no par value	309,425	309,425
			Common stock, \$5 par value	50,000,000	50,000,000
			34,630,834 shares authorized; 34,630,834 shares outstanding in 1990 and 30,234,113 in 1989	173,154	151,171
			Surplus	533,925	380,858
			Retained earnings	599,641	619,409
			Total stockholders' equity	1,616,145	1,460,863
			Total liabilities and stockholders' equity	\$29,198,860	\$25,718,222

The portion of the investment in precious metals not hedged by forward sales was \$12.0 million and \$8.0 million in 1990 and 1989, respectively.

Summary of Results (in Thousands Except Per Share Data)

	Six Months Ended June 30, 1990	Six Months Ended June 30, 1989	Three Months Ended June 30, 1990	Three Months Ended June 30, 1989
Net income	\$ 97,091	\$ 85,544	\$ 52,846	\$ 43,765
Cash dividends declared on common stock	\$ 21,396	\$ 19,288	\$ 11,428	\$ 9,676
Per common share:				
Net income	\$ 2.74	\$ 2.45	\$ 1.43	\$ 1.25
Cash dividends declared	\$ .66	\$ .64	\$ .33	\$ .32
Average common shares outstanding	31,655	30,072	33,082	30,103

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 REPUBLIC NEW YORK CORPORATION OWNS 48.2% OF SAFRA REPUBLIC HOLDINGS SA

## SAFRA REPUBLIC HOLDINGS SA LUXEMBOURG

## CONSOLIDATED STATEMENTS OF CONDITION

(In Thousands of US\$ except per share data)

Assets	June 30,		Liabilities and Shareholders' Equity	June 30,	
	1990	1989		1990	1989
Cash and due from banks	64,003	51,399	Client deposits	4,786,459	2,555,557
Interest bearing deposits with banks	3,039,170	2,332,099	Bank deposits	1,178,249	983,273
Precious metals	1,425	1,512	Total deposits	5,964,708	3,540,830
Investment securities	2,708,979	1,283,252	Short term borrowings	34,938	39,162
Trading account securities	13,909	11,985	Acceptances outstanding	89	165
Loans, net of unearned income	1,144,936	818,172	Accrued interest payable	80,285	39,355
Allowance for possible loan losses	(7,215)	(6,078)	Other liabilities	40,183	21,244
Loans (net)	1,137,721	812,094	Long term debt	64,481	68,298
Customers' liability on acceptances	39	165	Shareholders' equity:		
Premises and equipment	50,306	45,535	Common stock	89,155	89,155
Accrued interest receivable	121,144	93,422	Surplus	819,578	819,851
Other assets	47,034	38,094	Retained earnings	90,363	51,497
Total assets	7,183,730	4,669,557	Total shareholders' equity	999,096	960,503
			Total liabilities and shareholders' equity	7,183,730	4,669,557



## In Thrift Scandal, Business Judgment Rule is Scant Defense

By Stephen Labaton  
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — The business judgment rule, the well-worn legal shield that protects those executives who are foolishly along with those with foresight, is expected to play a large role in many negligence cases brought by the U.S. government against savings-and-loan officials.

But many lawyers say the rule may be less useful to savings executives because they have obligations to depositors as well as to shareholders.

Under public and regulatory pressure, savings directors from Charles H. Keating 3d and Neil Bush to lesser-known ones, are rou-

tinely responding to criticism and legal challenges with some variation of the business judgment rule. Derived from more than 150 years of court decisions, the rule generally holds that executives are not liable for decisions that are made in good faith, on an informed basis and in the belief that the action taken was in the best interest of the company.

It has become standard fare for the executives of collapsed institutions to assert that they made loans and investments in the belief that they were in the best interests of the institution and its shareholders.

The venerable rule has a warm place in the annals of corporate

law, a protector of industrial gaffes and consumer boondoggles from the Edsel and New Coke to smokeless cigarettes.

It was used in defense of the Wrigley family of Chicago, who were sued by shareholders for not installing lights that would have allowed night-time baseball games for the Chicago Cubs.

More recently, its broad affirmation in the challenge to the merger of Time Inc. and Warner Communications Inc. made it an almost omnipotent tool for executives seeking to thwart hostile takeovers.

The upside of the rule is that it gives considerable latitude in making business decisions and prevents

directors from being second-guessed by the nonexperts — judges and juries, said Joel Seligman, a professor at the University of Michigan School of Law.

The downside, he added, is that in recent years it has been too broadly applied to dismiss even those cases in which judges do have some authority. These often involve breaches by directors of their duty to be loyal to the corporation.

Many states impose an onerous standard to overcome the defense. Plaintiffs must show that the executives expected to receive personal financial benefits from the action taken, lacked independence, were grossly negligent in failing to in-

form themselves or were so irrational that their decisions were not the result of a reasonable judgment.

Two weeks ago, a Delaware court used the rule as the basis for approving a settlement between Amman Hammer, the founder and chairman of Occidental Petroleum Corp., and the company's shareholders, who accused it of wasting corporate assets by devoting substantially more than \$75 million to build an art museum.

In upholding the settlement, Maurice Hartzel, a vice chancellor of the Delaware Chancery Court, said the business judgment rule would protect even a large corporate expense for a charity.

Under the settlement, Occidental's contributions to charities controlled by Mr. Hammer are limited to 1.33 percent of the previous year's total common stock dividend. Construction costs are limited to \$60 million and an annuity from the company to the museum will also be provided.

While lawyers and legal scholars agree that the rule is widely expected to be used in the context of savings institutions, there is no uniform view on whether the standards will be the same as they are for industrial corporations.

H. Rodgin Cohen, a partner at Sullivan & Cromwell in New York, said a consensus among courts has yet to be developed in the area, but that as a general matter, the standards are more or less the same.

## SUGAR: Pharmaceutical Companies Discover the Virtues of a Spoonful

(Continued from first finance page) for bacteria, viruses or antibodies that attack the cells.

"When cells interact with each other, the things that touch first are carbohydrates," said Roger A. Laine, the chief scientist at Glycomed.

Carbohydrates also play a role in the adhesion of cells. In cancer, carbohydrates are thought to play a role in the process by which cancer cells split off from the main tumor and spread through the body.

Proteins made by the body are also usually coated with sugars. Biotechnology companies, in making protein drugs using genetic engineering, have found that the

drugs will not work right if the sugar coating is incorrect.

Two of the biggest-selling protein drugs, Genentech Inc.'s tissue plasminogen activator for heart attack victims, and Amgen Inc.'s erythropoietin for anemia, cannot be made in genetically engineered bacteria because the bacteria do not add sugars to the proteins.

Having discovered the importance of sugars, biotechnology companies are now trying to change the sugars to make the protein-based drugs more effective or long-lasting.

Genzyme has used such "glycoprotein remodeling" on a drug it has developed to treat Gaucher's

disease, a rare inherited disease that leads to an enlarged spleen and liver and can be fatal. Genzyme has produced the enzyme that victims of the disease lack.

Changing the sugars surrounding the enzyme allows the enzyme to better find where it is needed. Glycomed is looking at manufacturing carbohydrates to fight viruses that latch onto target cells at carbohydrate docking sites, or receptors.

If carbohydrate drugs can be designed that are the same as the receptors, they could act as decoys, attracting the viruses and preventing them from infecting cells.

The company said it has already

identified the receptor for rotavirus, which causes some forms of diarrhea, and is working on receptors for the flu virus.

Carbohydrates also play a role in inflammation. Scientists have long wondered how infection-fighting white blood cells know where to leave the bloodstream to find infected tissue.

In recent years, they have discovered several so-called cell adhesion molecules, which appear on the inside of the blood vessels near the site of an infection. White blood cells adhere to these molecules in a process that often involves carbohydrates and then leave the bloodstream.

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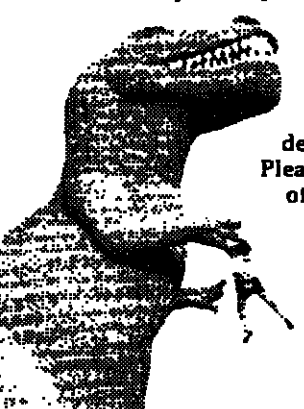
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## Baghdad Blows U.S. Business Ties

By Robert D. Hershey Jr.  
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — As dismay gives way to anger over Iraq's aggression in the Middle East, a fledgling U.S. organization devoted to expanding commercial relations between Iraq and the United States is experiencing embarrassment and a sense of betrayal as well.

"Naturally we were not at all happy," said a useful Marshall W. Wiley, the president of the United States-Iraq Business Forum, who slightly more than a year ago listened in Baghdad for more than two hours as the president of Iraq, Saddam Hussein, told American executives how much he wanted to expand trade to help rebuild his country.

"It was a very constructive meeting," Mr. Wiley said.

And although the United States cut off agricultural credits to Iraq in January, a senior Iraqi official came to Washington in May to reassure forum members over breakfast no hard feelings remained.

"There is no change in Iraq's policies toward the United States," said its minister of trade and finance, Mohammed Mahdi Salih, told the group. He added that Americans held first priority for Iraq's debt repayment and that Iraq was going out of its way to buy American rice, wheat and corn.

The rice, he said, was available elsewhere at much lower prices, but "the Iraqi people prefer American rice."

Perhaps nowhere do such statements now ring more hollow than in the ears of Mr. Wiley, who spent 35 years in the Middle East as a diplomat and business executive, and Mary E. King, the forum's executive director, who returned from vacation last week wondering if she still had a job.

"We were outfoxed," said Ms. King, a longtime civil rights worker and a White House aide in the Carter administration.

The forum was created in early 1985 by Mr. Wiley, a lawyer who among other Middle Eastern posts served as the top U.S. government official in Baghdad during the mid-1970s.

With the aggressive encouragement of Nizar Hamdoun, who then was Iraq's ambassador in Washington, Mr. Wiley set about shortly after diplomatic relations resumed between Iraq and the United States to organize American business to move into one of the world's few remaining unexploited, but potentially lucrative, markets.

Iraq broke off relations with the United States in 1967 over U.S. support of Israel in Israel's war with Egypt, Syria and Jordan.

"I needed some assurance that the Iraqi government would cooperate with such an organization if I created one — and it was agreed that they would," said Mr. Wiley.

The need, he added, was for an organization here that would serve "as a mediating factor" between the American private sector and the Iraqi government, whose agencies conducted virtually all international business.

Iraq is different from many countries in the region, where Ms. King said the approach of foreign companies has historically been "to find a prince to be your agent" and to be prepared to offer bribes. One of the forum's tasks was to enlighten Americans who "might make the wrong assumption" about Iraq.

Other things the forum provides its members — now about 60 companies of varying sizes — are information on business opportunities and regulations in Iraq, an annual symposium on the country in Washington, trade missions and assistance to members making their own visits.

Among other things, Iraq used the forum to screen potential trade partners, one oil industry member said.

## unicef

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## SPORTS

## In Shrinking World, National Football League Knows No End Zone

By Christine Brennan

Washington Post Service

MONTREAL — Richard Tardits was a rugby player in southwest France who decided to come to the United States and the University of Georgia to play his sport for a couple of months.

"What was supposed to be a two-month vacation ended up being a six-year journey," Tardits said the other day.

During those six years, Vince Dooley, then Georgia's coach, spotted Tardits and turned him into a football player. He now is in his second season with the New England Patriots. He's a linebacker, though last week he was a second.

They are one and the same thing in today's National Football League, where passports are almost as important as playbooks. Tardits, who was playing a preseason game against the Pittsburgh Steelers in Montreal, said that as a child in France, he "didn't know anything about American football."

"But we got excited about it when we heard," he said. "It was American. It was

a crazy thing. Anything from America was great. We wanted to know more.

Because of statements like this, the NFL has become one of the world's largest travel agencies. In seven days recently the league played four preseason games on three continents: Denver and Seattle in Tokyo; New Orleans and the Los Angeles Raiders in London; Pittsburgh and New England in Montreal; and the Los Angeles Rams and Kansas City in Berlin. Nearly 200,000 people attended.

In addition to drawing those fans, the NFL ran clinics, visited local newspaper editors and sold T-shirts, lots of T-shirts. If it sounds as if the league is laying the groundwork for something, well, just remember, this is the organization that has led all pro sports leagues in innovation, merchandising and making money.

It certainly was no coincidence that while he was in Berlin for the game there, the NFL's commissioner, Paul Tagliabue, said that by the end of the century there could be NFL franchises outside the United States.

"If you include Canada, obviously I

think it's realistic," he said. "If you include London, I think it's clearly realistic. Once you go beyond that, I think you get into speculation."

Tardits found himself the only French-speaking NFL player in Montreal, a city that is 80 percent French. He was a marketing dream. For two days he was a spectacle, constantly being sought for interviews, and constantly obliging. What he said foretold the future of the league.

"The way the world is going, it is becoming more worldwide," he said.

"Everyone is coming together. The NFL is trying to extend itself worldwide, too. Look at how fast history is moving. The NFL wants to reach out to new areas. There is interest. In Europe, I don't think they're ready for a team yet, but they are ready to learn. I don't think it will take even 10 years for them to understand. Then they will be ready."

This all began just four years ago, when the league exported the Chicago Bears and Dallas Cowboys to London's Wembley Stadium for the first American

Bowl. The British asked to have Dallas because of the popular television soap opera of the same name. But the NFL knew the English were already familiar with the game, because NFL highlights saturated the airwaves, and because several slick, four-color magazines devoted to the NFL circulated in the country.

The NFL also is trading on soccer's turf, but the recent performance of some nations in the World Cup suggest that fans might be restless, and there may be a slight opening for the NFL.

"It's already clear that in Britain they're going to be open to American football," Tagliabue said. "They had such a bad experience, for one thing, with the hooligans, and that has turned a lot of people off. Secondly, there's a lot of dissatisfaction with soccer and the way it's being played."

"Everybody in this town wants the NFL," said Serge Amyot, a sportswriter for Le Journal de Montreal, which is the second-largest newspaper in Canada. "Nobody is interested in the CFL, the Canadian Football League. 'We

don't even run stories on the CFL, only the scores."

The CFL left Montreal three years ago, another reason the NFL feels it can play a preseason game here.

When word got back to North America that Tagliabue said a Canadian city would be a logical spot for expansion, Gerry Snyder was ecstatic. Snyder, who brought baseball to Montreal in 1969, has been spearheading the city's drive for an NFL team for 25 years.

Canada is a logical choice for expansion: it's riskier in Europe and the Far East. There, children don't grow up throwing or kicking the oblong ball with the strange bounce; they kick soccer balls or throw baseballs. To truly gain a foothold in these areas, the NFL will have to saturate the market with TV highlights, merchandise and equipment, then wait a generation.

"It's a grass-roots effort," said Roger Goodell, the NFL's director of club administration and international development. "The future fans of the NFL are

fans who grow up participating in the sport."

To that end, the NFL has just established an NFL trust in London to put on clinics for children and youths interested in playing football. There have been exchanges involving NFL players and whole teams of football players from Europe, and these will continue, Goodell said.

And there will be enough souvenirs for all: A four-story shop called The Official NFL Store opened in the heart of the Tokyo shopping district the week before the preseason game there. Goodell walked in three hours after it opened to learn that 180 people already had signed up for an NFL fan club.

"Merchandising is a part of it," he said. "I was getting on a train in Tokyo and looked over to see a woman with a Los Angeles Raiders pocketbook. I had never seen one before."

"We want to expand American football and this is like a test to see how it is," said the Steelers' president, Dan Rooney. He said the most common complaint of fans abroad is that games take too

long. They hate the stoppages. The way the American game has been packaged for them on TV, they see just hour-long highlights of certain games, with highlights of certain plays, with highlights of certain officials' conferences, timeouts and the like. They want the real thing, they want the whole thing, they want it all. It's a game in a time capsule," Rooney said. "They think that the way our games are all the time, until they see one in person. But once they learn the strategy and the reasons for the breaks, they will think it's great."

There is another aspect to the internationalization of the NFL, and it's the WFLA, the developmental league formed by the NFL that has put teams in Miami, London, Frankfurt, Barcelona, Montreal and Mexico City. It will be a way for the NFL to gauge interest in football — the way it's played in the United States — on a regular, weekly basis.

"We are responding to the tremendous interest in American football in these markets," Goodell said. "It's been a unique experience for the clubs and, long term, it helps our plans to develop our game on an international basis. The way the world is changing, it's difficult to tell how fast our game will develop. But we plan to be prepared and ready for whatever happens."

Hubner Breaks World Cycling Mark  
Record Is Set as Lavish Championships Open in Japan

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

MAEBASHI, Japan — Michael Hubner of East Germany set a world record Monday as the World Cycling Championships opened with a rush.

Hubner, 31, competing in his first world championship as a professional, was timed in 10:34 seconds for the flying-start 200 meters, breaking the record of 10:49 seconds set by Stephen Pate of Australia in 1989.

Hubner, the former top amateur, is the first East German track cyclist to race for money.

"I had hoped to race faster," said Hubner, a silver medalist in the 1989 amateur sprint. "To go under 10 seconds was my dream. But the conditions were colder than in practice when I had a better time. There is still a lot of racing to do before I win the gold."

The 1989 professional sprint champion, Claudio Geminelli of Italy, was second in 10:37 seconds. Pate was third in 10:40.

The professional record set by Hubner, who competes for the Histo-Sigma team in Belgium, was slower than the amateur world record of 10:12 seconds set by Nikolai Kovchev of the Soviet Union in 1987. It was also slower than Monday's times of the top

finishers in the amateur sprint preliminaries.

Hubner's compatriot, Bill Huck, won the earlier amateur qualifying with a time of 10:13 seconds. Curtis Harnett of Canada was second in 10:27 seconds, followed by Jens Fiedler of East Germany in 10:28.

In the women's amateur sprint preliminaries, Isabelle Gauthier of France completed the 200 meters in 11:37 seconds, ahead of Annett Neumann of East Germany in 11:40 and the Goodwill Games champion, Connie Young of the United States, in 11:44.

It was an auspicious start for the championships. Asia's first, on which Japanese sponsors have spent 2 billion yen (\$13 million).

The track races are being held in the new Green Dome, 100 kilometers (62 miles) northwest of Tokyo. It is a 333-meter (364-yard) course with a maximum inclination of 42 degrees, one of the world's toughest.

The Green Dome, completed in July at a cost of 18 billion yen, is Japan's second largest multipurpose stadium, after the Tokyo Dome.

The track races will be followed by the road races in Utsunomiya, 80 kilometers northeast of Maebashi.

The highlight of the championships will be the 261-kilometer professional road race on Sept. 2, the final day of the 10-day event.

In the road race, competitors must negotiate 18 laps around a 14.5-kilometer course with a 190-meter height difference.

Greg LeMond of the United States is trying to become the first man in history to win both the Tour de France and the world championship for two straight years.

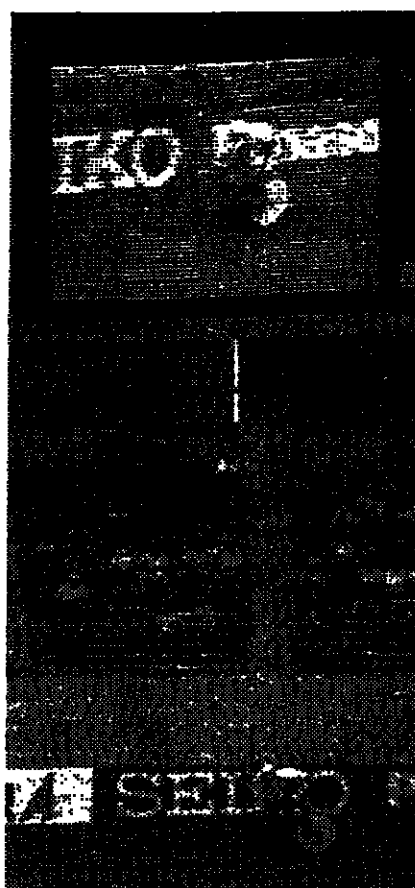
He has won the Tour three times, in 1986, 1989 and 1990, and the world championship in 1989 after winning it for the first time in 1983.

The first world championship was held in Chicago in 1993 and the first Tour de France in 1903.

Claudio Chiappucci of Italy, who led most of this year's Tour de France before LeMond took the lead, will also compete. Japan's Koichi Nakano, who has won a record 10 straight professional sprint titles in 1977-1986, is to compete in the keirin race, after skipping the championship for four years.

Officials said that 308 riders from 29 nations had entered the Aug. 20-26 track races.

The number of competitors will still be more than 1,000 from 50 nations when the road races begin in Utsunomiya. (AP, Reuters)



Maebashi's \$120 million Green Dome, where the track races are being held.

Not Just Child's Play Anymore  
Little League Operates With Big-League Money

The Associated Press

HARRISBURG, Pennsylvania — Financially, Little League is not so little anymore.

Since the opening game between the boys on the teams of Lundy Lumber and Looming Dairy in 1939, Little League Baseball of America Inc. has grown to a multimillion-dollar organization involving 2.5 million players worldwide.

From its headquarters in South Williamsport, Pennsylvania, league executives direct an organization of 16,500 baseball and softball leagues in the United States and 40 other countries, ranging from China to Poland.

Every year, regional leagues pay a fee, usually \$15 a team, for the privilege of getting a shot at the eight-team Little League World Series. It begins Tuesday with clubs from Matamoros, Mexico; Ramstein Air Force Base in West Germany, from Taiwan, from Canada and four from the United States. Semifinals are to be played Thursday, with the title game next Saturday.

Matamoros plays Canada and Brooklyn, Michigan, faces Cypress, California, in Tuesday's quarterfinals. Wednesday, the Cottage Hill Little League of Mobile, Alabama, plays Shippensburg, Pennsylvania, and the Ramstein Air Force Base team plays San-Fin of Taipei.

As a non-profit corporation, the league made more money last year than ever before, according to a review, by the Harrisburg Patriot-News, of tax reports filed with the U.S. Internal Revenue Service.

The documents show Little League: • Had more than \$2 million left after expenses in 1989.

• Saw revenues increase from \$4.6 million in 1986 to \$8.1 million last year.

• Spent \$1 million on travel last year, of which \$866,931 went to transport teams during the World Series and other tournaments.

• Made more than \$1.2 million from selling the Little League name, including \$1 million from corporate sponsors.

• Has its own fund-raising foundation that is valued at \$3 million.

• Used the construction company owned by one of the permanent members of the board of directors to expand its headquarters and build its stadium and the Little League Museum.

• Had total assets last year of \$14.6 million, up from \$12.3 million in 1988.

"We are very healthy," said Creighton J. Hale, president of Little League Baseball of America. "We are in the best financial position in our history and it has enabled us to do many new things."

But while millions of children and adults follow Little League rules and guidelines, none has easy access to league financial records. Unlike most non-profit organizations dependent on public dollars, Little League does not make its financial statement available on request. Anyone interested in how the league spends its money must review the IRS reports at the league's headquarters.

But Hale said the value of Little League should not be measured by its coffers but by the way it helps children mature and gain character. He added that the league transcends political boundaries and enables children from different countries to meet on the baseball diamond.

## Vikings Defeat Browns, 23-20

The Associated Press

CLEVELAND — Allen Rice burst 11 yards up the middle on a drive play with 4:27 left as the Minnesota Vikings beat the Cleveland Browns, 23-20, in a preseason game Sunday night.

Rich Gannon, the Vikings' third quarterback, set up the touchdown by scrambling 18 yards on a third-and-20 play, then passing five yards to Andy Schilling on fourth down.

In other preseason news: • The Los Angeles Raiders might move back to Oakland in time to start the season there according to ESPN, which, citing unidentified sources, reported Sunday night that the team's owner, Al Davis, is scrambling to work out final details, including a buyout of the lease at Los Angeles Coliseum.

ESPN also reported that the NFL has been prepared for months for a quick switch back to Oakland. Don Perata, president of the Alameda County Supervisors and a leader in attempts to bring the Raiders back, told KCBS radio in San Francisco that he thought a move is likely.

• Pro Bowl linebacker Leslie O'Neal was expected Monday as the San Diego Chargers' training camp after agreeing to a two-year contract. Terms were not disclosed.

## CHESS

By Robert Byrne

In many hard-fought games, the combinations are mostly not on the board but in the minds of the players. Each visualizes what the other is up to and counters it with an equal piece of ingenuity, which in turn is countered, and so on. A good example of this type of game is the encounter between the grandmasters Boris Gelfand of the Soviet Union and Predrag Nikolic of Yugoslavia from the ninth round of the International Tournament for world championship candidates, which finished July 14 in Manila.

In the main line of the Slav Defense, the standard development of the c8 bishop is 5...Bf5, but 5...Bg4 is more conducive to complex tactical play. For example, after 6 Ne5 Bf5, Nikolic would be quite satisfied to get into the scrappy gambit with 7 B3 Nf6 8 Nd4 e5? 9 Ne4 Bf4 10 Bg2 Qd4 11 g3 Qe7 that he used against Paul Van der Sterren in Munich earlier this year.

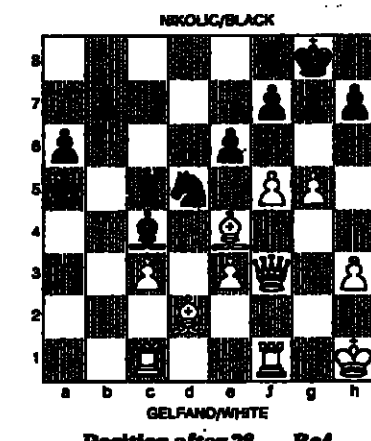
That game ended in a draw, which is surely part of the reason that Gelfand chose another, popular alternative, 7 h3. Besides, he had successfully used it and countered 7...Na6 with 8 g4 Bg5 Bg2 Nb4 10 O-O against A. Huzman in the Soviet Union three years ago. Huzman had played 10...Nf7? 11 Nf4 f6 and Gelfand seized the upper hand with 12 Qf1.

Black's plan with 10...Bc2 11 d2 Bb3 12 Ne4 13 Nc5 Qd4 14 Nb7 Nd5 15 Nf6 Qd2 16 Bc2 e6 was originally suggested as leading to equality by Gelfand and his co-analyst, A. Kapengut, in Chess Informant, No. 43, 1987. But that was before

the inspiration for 12 a5! struck Gelfand. The tactical nucleus of the idea was that if Black tries to trap the a1 rook with 12...Nc2, White unleashes 13 a6! Nf1 14 ab with a quick crush to follow.

On 12...a6, Gelfand offered a new sacrifice with 13 Na4?, one point being that 13...Qa5? 14 Nc5! Qb5 (14...Qa7 15 Qb4 yields White an overwhelming attack) 15 Qb4 b6 16 b4 g5 17 h3 h5 18 Qc5 recovers one pawn and still yields White a promising attack. After 13...e6, 14 g5 Nf6 came up with the exchange 14...Nf7 15 Nf7 Qd7 16 Nf6 Qd8 17 a8 Qa8 rather than suffer in the terrible bind that would arise from 14...Nd5 15 e4 Nc7 16 Nf6. Into the bargain, he had a pawn and a position difficult to crack. On 22...Bc5, it would have been risky for Gelfand to snatch a pawn with 23 Bb7? and allow a bind with 23...Nc2 24 Rb1 Qd3!

After 25...Qa4, 26 Bc2 was prevented, but Gelfand produced the strong 26 Qf3! Now, not even 26...g6 could stop 27 f5! g7 28 f6! After 28...Bc4, Gelfand gladly gave back the exchange with 29 f6 because 29...Bf7 30 f7 31 Bf7 32 Bf4 33 Bf5 34 a6 Nb6 35 g5 is annihilating. Nikolic doggedly defended with 29...Ne7, but Gelfand's 30 Bb7! Kf7 31 Qe4 Ng6 32 Qe4 saved the exchange, won back a pawn and gave White a winning game. The fruitless loss of a pawn by 38...a5 39 Qe4 Ne7 40 Bc5 was probably due to time-pressure. The game was adjourned after 41 Bc2, and although Nikolic could have resisted further, he did not want to use his energy in service of a lost cause and gave up.



Position after 28...Bc4

SLAV DEFENSE			
White	Black	White	Black
1 d4	d5	22 c6	Bc5
2 Nf3	Nf6	23 Bc2	Nb6
3 e4	c6	24 Kf1	Qd7
4 e5	Qb6	25 Qf3	Qc4
5 Bb5	Bb7	26 Qf3	Qc4
6 Ne5	Bf5	27 Bc2	Qc4
7 h3	Bg4	28 Bc2	Qc4
8 g4	Bg5	29 f6	Ng6
9 Bg2	Bf4	30 Bb7	Kf7
10 O-O	Nf7	31 Qe4	Ng6
11 Nf4	f6	32 Qe4	Ng6
12 Qf1	Bc2	33 Bf4	Qc4
13 a6	Bc4	34 a6	Qc4
14 b4	Bc5	35 g5	Ng6
15 Nf6	Qd7	36 Qe4	Ng6
16 Nf6	Qd8	37 Qe4	Ng6
17 Bc2	Qd8	38 Bc2	Ng6
18 Bc2	Qd8	39 Qe4	Ng6
19 Bc2	Qd8	40 Bc5	Ng6
20 Bc2	Qd8	41 Bc2	Ng6
21 Qe7	Qd8	42 Bc2	Ng6

## BOOKS

BLACK IN SELMA: The Uncommon Life of J. L. Chestnut Jr.

By J. L. Chestnut Jr. and Julia Cass. Illustrated. 432 pages. \$22.95. Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 19 Union Square West, New York, N. Y. 10003.

Reviewed by Herbert Mitgang

WHEN J. L. Chestnut Jr. hung out his shingle in Selma, Alabama, in 1958 after graduating from the law school at Howard University, there were only five black lawyers in the state.

Like the black country doctors who practiced in the Deep South, he decided to return to his hometown and handle the everyday cases for his neighbors instead of trying to prosper with a large law firm up North. The major civil rights protests and legislation were still to come; he anticipated that there would be precedent-making cases.

But in the local courthouse, he was a curiosity, still half "boy" to the white judges and sheriffs. Coming out of the courthouse in the late afternoon after representing demonstrators in civil rights cases, Chestnut often encountered "a bunch of rednecks" standing there with the sheriff.

"Were they the Klan? Would they follow? I wanted a pack of cigarettes, but it was wise to stop in this white-owned country store?" He packed his old Army pistol in a shoulder holster, living with a sense that each day might be his last.

Memories of those historic times come rushing back as if from some primitive age of terror and lawlessness in "Black in Selma," a memoir written with the help of Julia Cass, former Southern bureau chief for The Philadelphia Inquirer.

Chestnut, born in 1930, grew up in a black middle-class household in segregated Selma, meaning that his parents were plain poor, not dirt poor. Right from the beginning, his strong-willed mother was determined that her son make something of himself through education.

Chestnut arrived at Howard Law School in 1953, while Thurgood Marshall and other lawyers for the NAACP's Legal Defense Fund were preparing their arguments for the Supreme Court in the Brown vs. Board of Education case challenging segregation in the public schools.

Although Marshall became an idol for the law students, they thought they would not see desegregation happen in their lifetimes because enforcement was placed in the hands of the lower courts. Back in Selma, Chestnut found himself working for equal rights on many levels in the county and state courts.

"Black in Selma" includes some surprising portraits of national personalities, told in the straightforward voice that characterizes the book.

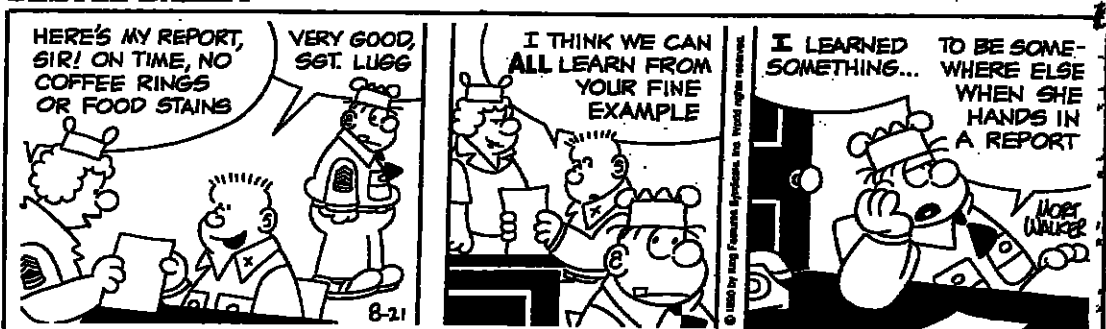
A good deal of local politics in the final part of "Black in Selma" provides a little too much detail; it would have been interesting to hear more about his law firm's cases. But Chestnut and Cass do deliver a human portrait against a changing canvas in the South, about one uncommon man who stood his ground and prevailed.

Herbert Mitgang is on the staff of The New York Times.

## PEANUTS



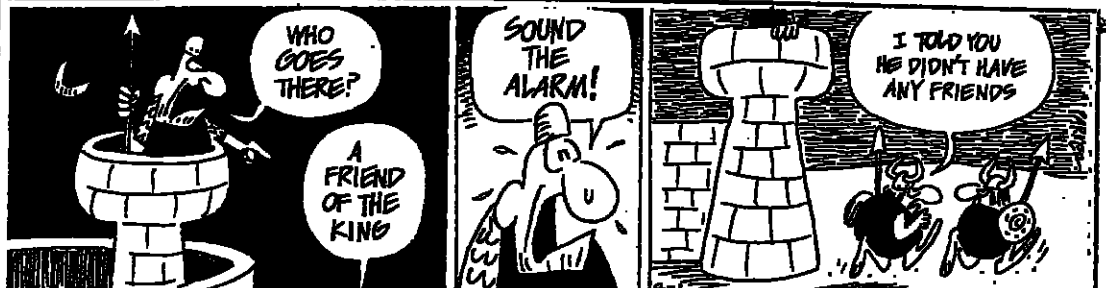
## BEETLE BAILEY



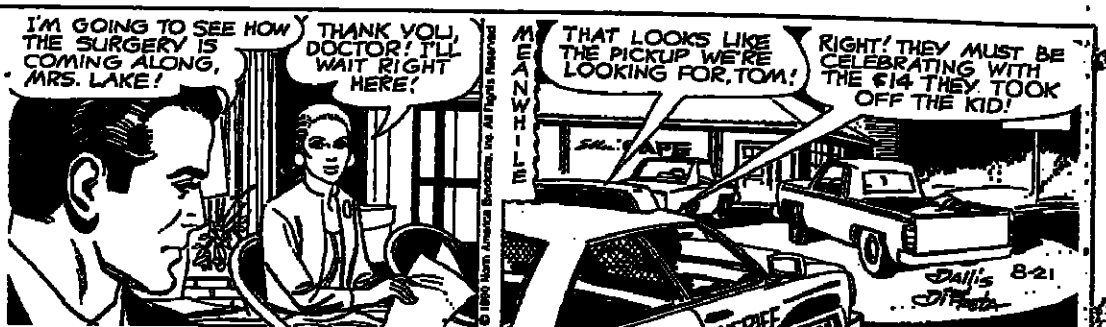
## ANDY CAPP



## WIZARD OF ID



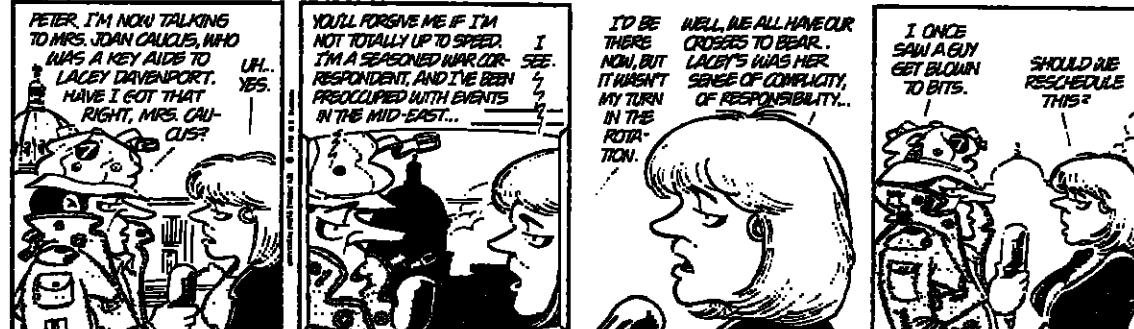
## REX MORGAN



## GARFIELD



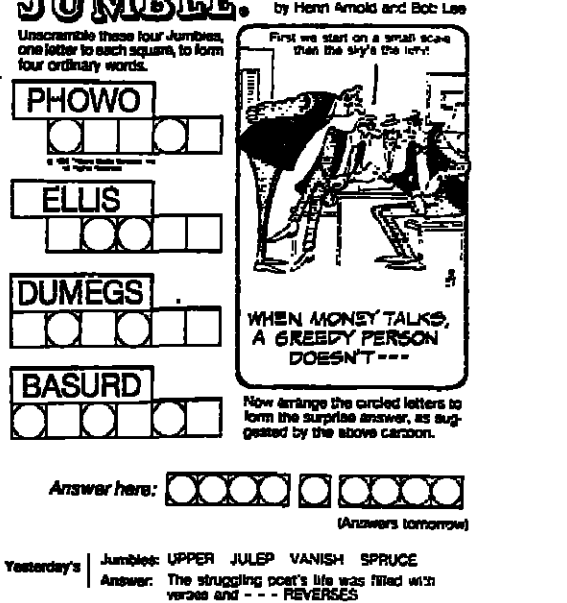
## DOONESBURY



## DENNIS THE MENACE



## JUMBLE





## SPORTS

## Yugoslavia: The Best, Without Doubt

By Eugene Robinson

Washington Post Service

**BUENOS AIRES** — Yugoslavia rolled past the Soviet Union to win the World Basketball Championships, 92-75, and clearly established that Belgrade is now the capital of international basketball.

"This is without doubt the best generation ever of Yugoslavian basketball players," their coach, Dusan Ivkovic, said after Sunday's rout.

It was their second straight major triumph — following the Goodwill Games victory in Seattle last month — and they were the class of the field here by a long shot.

The Yugoslavs, who lost only once in the tournament, took control early Sunday at both ends of the court. They turned a 12-7 lead into a 26-10 gap as the Soviets went 6-10 without a field goal.

Toni Kukoc, the swing man who makes the offense run, was primarily responsible for shutting down Soviet forward Valeri Tikhonenko, who had been averaging 20.4 points per game. Tikhonenko was held scoreless in the first half, managing only two shots.

The Yugoslavs, meanwhile, hardly missed, in large part because most of their shots were layups, either created in an effective half-court game or in an equally successful transition mode.

The lead was 52-34 at halftime and the Yugoslavs easily staved off the only Soviet rally, when a driving jumper by Oleg Meleschenko made it 60-53 with 11:08 to play. After a 13-2 run, with Zarko Paspalj scoring six points, the gold medal was never in doubt again.

"Perhaps our players began celebrating too soon at the start of the second half and caused us to relax," Ivkovic said.

Drazen Petrovic, who plays for the Portland Trail Blazers of the National Basketball Association, led Yugoslavia with 20 points. Paspalj, who played for the

San Antonio Spurs last season, had 16. Kukoc, a second-round draft choice this year of the Chicago Bulls, had 14 points, 7 rebounds and 4 assists. And Vlade Divac of the Los Angeles Lakers dominated inside with 6 points, 5 rebounds and 3 blocked shots.

Alexander Volkov of the Atlanta Hawks led the Soviets with 15 points. Tikhonenko had 11.

The Yugoslavs won with their familiar pattern: guard Petrovic coolly providing leadership and a timely three-pointer; forward Kukoc penetrating and passing, mostly to forward Paspalj; center Divac doing just as much as he had to keep the Soviets from getting ideas about coming inside.

The Yugoslavs might not be able to beat the old Boston Celtics, but that's whom they seem to emulate: lots of ball movement, lots of movement without the ball, good eyes and hands and an emphasis on finding the open man.

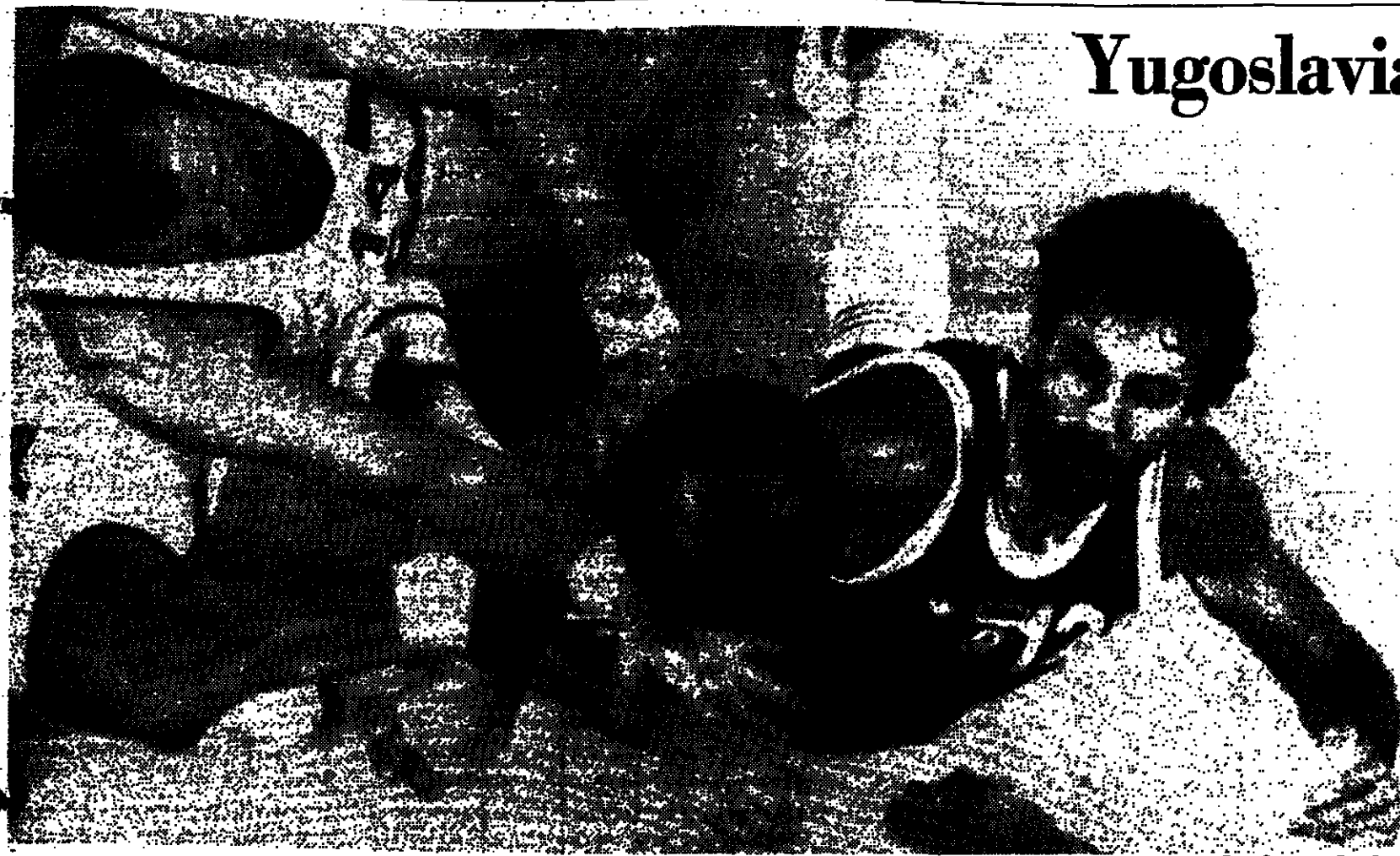
Like all good teams, at times they made the game look absurdly simple. They shot ahead by 16 points with Divac and Kukoc working pretty little give-and-go underneath, one on a touch pass by Divac bringing a gap from the crowd at jam-packed Luna Park auditorium.

At halftime, The Soviet players stayed in the locker room so long that they didn't even get to take warm-ups at the beginning of the second period.

Kukoc punctuated the evening with a thundering dunk that brought the crowd to its feet. After the buzzer the players unceremoniously lifted Ivkovic, an every-hair-in-place sort of coach, over their heads.

"They have played too soon at the same level as the NBA players at this championship," Ivkovic said. "They could compete very well against that league."

The Soviet players and coaches left without comment. No representative from the silver medalists attended the postgame news conference.



Vlade Divac fouled off the Soviets beneath the basket. The center, who plays for the Los Angeles Lakers, dominated inside with 6 points, 5 rebounds and 3 blocked shots.

## SIDELINES

## European Championships Still On

**HELSINKI (AP)** — The European Track and Field Championships will be held in Yugoslavia next week despite ethnic unrest in the region, the head of the meet's governing body said Monday.

Carl-Olaf Homen, president of the European Athletics Association, said he was "very aware of developments" in Croatia, where heavily armed Serbs have been demanding autonomy, but that it did not warrant moving the championships from Split, where they are to begin Aug. 27. "At this point in time there is no alternative," Homen said, adding that "we have no reason to even consider a switch."

## Seles Tops Navratilova in Tiebreaker

**LOS ANGELES (Reuters)** — Monica Seles continued her brilliant year of tennis and gave herself an extra boost of confidence for next week's U.S. Open by beating Martina Navratilova in a third-set tiebreaker Sunday in the Virginia Slims of Los Angeles final.

Seles, 16, needed four match points but finally subdued the top-seeded Navratilova, 6-4, 3-6, 7-6, by winning the tiebreaker, 6-4.

She broke Navratilova in the 11th game and first reached match point at 6-5, but netted a backhand passing shot and eventually lost her serve to force the tiebreaker.

Seles had two more match points at 6-4 in the tiebreaker, but Navratilova saved both with aggressive net play.

## Beckenbauer: A 'Surprise' Coming

**BONN (AP)** — Franz Beckenbauer, who managed the West German team to this year's World Cup championship, has said that he won't be going to the United States soon to help prepare for the 1994 tournament, but that he does have a surprise in store.

"I won't go to the United States to prepare for the World Cup before 1992," Beckenbauer said Sunday in Nurburg, then added that he has "a surprise to make about my plans for the immediate future."

## For the Record

Davis Love 34, making nine birdies on a day when two players had double eagles, scored a three-point victory over Steve Pate, Peter Senior of Australia and Eduardo Romero of Argentina in Sunday's International golf tournament in Castle Rock, Colorado.

Evelyn was a \$1 million bonus for capturing the Canadian triple crown of thoroughbred racing with a 6½-length victory in Sunday's Breeders' Stakes at Woodbine in Toronto.

Roger Mills, the 38-year-old star of Cameroon's soccer team in the World Cup, said he is thinking over offers from English, Austrian and Mexican clubs and "will make a decision by the end of the week."

Maurice Blocker, on a majority decision, won the World Boxing Council welterweight title from fellow American Marlon Starling on Sunday in Reno, Nevada.

## Quotable

Coach Don Shula on the Miami Dolphins' 23-14 preseason loss at Philadelphia: "It definitely was the type of game you don't want to be associated with."

## Court Recesses Mets Survive Giants, 10-9, to Stay on Pirates' Tail

By Joseph Durso

New York Times Service

Forget that the New York Mets won a game they had to win when they outscored the San Francisco Giants, 10-9, and stayed two games out of first place in the National League East.

Forget that Kevin McReynolds drove in six runs with two home runs and a single.

And, most of all, forget that Dwight Gooden won his 15th game of the season.

The crucial point is that Gooden was knocked out in the sixth inning.

Sunday night in San Francisco after he squandered much of a 10-2 lead on a pinch-hit home run with the bases loaded by Ernest Riles, and the Mets then nearly squandered the rest of the lead.

The grand slam was the first off Gooden in his seven years in the major leagues, and it gave him these ominous numbers for his last four starts: 31 hits and 21 earned runs in 22 innings, and an earned run average of 4.39 for the season.

After getting the news that the Pittsburgh Pirates completed a four-game sweep of the Cincinnati Reds, the Mets knew they had to win or drop three games behind the Pirates with 44 left to play in a pennant race that was growing shorter and more worrisome.

"The Pirates have done an amazing thing," said the Mets' manager, Bud Harrelson. "They've put the burden on us this weekend."

Pitcher David Cone said the weekend's events had thrust the Mets into a "survival mentality," a state of mind that warns the Mets they must win in their 10-game road trip in California or they will never catch up in the East, where the Pirates were relentlessly guarding their lead with six wins to go.

"On the West Coast, we must stay close," Cone said. "We can't afford to play them next month when we're four or five games out."

"We just have to stay close until we play the Pirates and can cut into their lead, face to face."

On Sunday, the Mets grabbed the early lead with one run in the

## BASEBALL ROUNDUP

San Francisco Giants 10, New York Mets 9. The Mets won their 15th game of the season.

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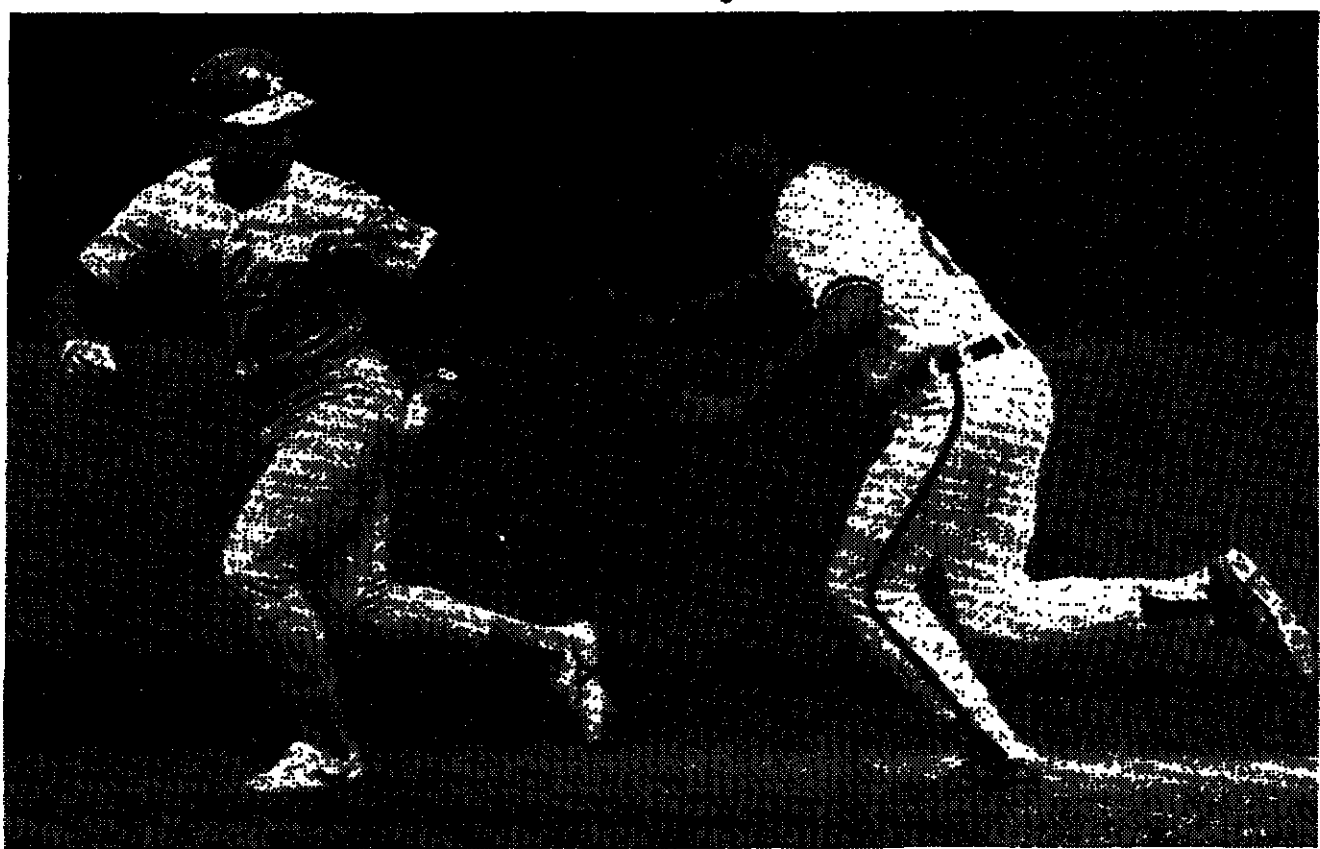
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David Segni caught Rickey Henderson stretching his lead off first and Oakland lost in Baltimore for the first time since June 18, 1989.

third and two in the fourth on McReynolds's first homer, a two-run shot off a 2-2 pitch after Howard Johnson had walked.

The home run was his 15th of the season but only the second in his last 148 times at bat.

In the home half of the inning, it looked as though Gooden was vulnerable one more time, as the Giants tagged him for two runs.

He walked Kevin Mitchell, then gave up consecutive doubles by Matt Williams and Terry Kennedy that narrowed the Mets' lead to 3-2.

But the Mets shot far in front with four runs off Mike LaCoss in the fifth, and again McReynolds did the heavy damage.

LaCoss walked Dave Magadan and again paid the price for a lead-off walk. Greg Jefferies followed

with a double to the fence in right-center for a 4-2 lead, although he was thrown out trying to stretch the hit into a triple on a snappy relay from center fielder Brett Butler to second baseman Robby Thompson to Williams at third.

Then came the knockout punches: Darryl Strawberry singled to center, Johnson doubled to right and McReynolds homered on a 1-1-and-a-pitch for three more runs and a 7-2 lead for the revived Mets.

In other games, The Associated Press reported:

Expos 2, Dodgers 1: In Los Angeles, pinch-hitter Mike Aldrete singled home the winning run with two outs in the ninth, spoiling the major-league debut of shortstop Jose Offerman, who homered in the

first on a two-strike pitch from Dennis Martinez.

Offerman was the first Dodger to homer in his first major-league at-bat since Dan Bankhead on Aug. 26, 1947, and the first major leaguer to do it since Toronto's Junior Felix on May 4, 1989.

Phillies 3, Padres 2: In San Diego, Sil Campuzano's two-run pinch single in the seventh and two errors by the Padres, one by pitcher Dennis Rasmussen, rallied Philadelphia.

The victory enabled Boston to retain the lead in the American League East.

White Sox 4, Rangers 2: Ron Kerkovics drove in two runs, one with a single that made it 3-1 in the eighth, and Bobby Thigpen recorded his major league-leading 40th save in Arlington, Texas.

Red Sox 4, Angels 1: In an American League game in Boston, Roger Clemens struck out eight and didn't walk a batter as he won his sixth straight.

The Red Sox staked Clemens to a 4-0 lead, on two California errors, an RBI double by Luis Rivera and a run-scoring single by Jody Reed in a decisive three-run second against Jim Abbott.

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## SCOREBOARD

## BASEBALL

## Major League Standings

## AMERICAN LEAGUE

## East Division

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Toronto	45	35	.563	—
Baltimore	43	37	.538	2
Cleveland	37	43	.463	8
Minnesota	36	44	.449	9
New York	35	45	.438	10

## West Division

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Oakland	47	33	.588	—
Chicago	42	38	.525	5
Texas	40	40	.500	7
California	38	42	.475	9
Kansas City	36	44	.449	11
Seattle	35	45	.438	12

## NATIONAL LEAGUE

## East Division

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Pittsburgh	48	30	.615	—
New York	45	33	.573	3
Montreal	43	35	.554	5
Chicago	38	40	.488	10
Philadelphia	37	41	.475	11
St. Louis	36	42	.460	12

## West Division

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
San Diego	41	37	.526	—
Los Angeles	40	38	.513	1
San Francisco	38	40	.488	3
San Diego	36	42	.460	5
Houston	35	43	.447	6
Atlanta	34	44	.435	7

## Sunday's Line Scores

## AMERICAN LEAGUE

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Seattle	48	30	.615	—
New York	45	33	.573	3
Montreal	43	35	.554	5
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St. Louis	36	42	.460	12

## West Division

Key; Telford, Schilling (B). Olson (9) and Telford. W—Telford, 1-0. L—Sanderson, 12-4.



ART BUCHWALD

Rounding Up 'Experts'

WASHINGTON — How do the TV news programs round up their experts when a crisis occurs? It is not a hit-or-miss proposition. Every network has on call men and women from our leading universities, the Brookings Institute, as well as former employees of the State Department and the CIA — all eager to explain what is really going on.

Almost all the experts come from Washington, D.C. This is not because the people in Washington are better informed than experts in the rest of the country, but rather because it's much cheaper for the networks to pay their taxi fare to the studio than to fly them in from Stanford.

The reason I know so much about this is that I have a buddy, an acclaimed Middle East expert named Professor Victor Fortunate, who recently wrote a book, "Sickening Sand in Your Head." The book predicts the downfall of Iraq's Saddam Hussein as soon as he runs out of suntan oil.



Buchwald

I stopped by to see Fortunate at his Georgetown home, but he wasn't there. His wife, Olga, told me that he had had an emergency call from Tom Brokaw. NBC wanted him down at the studio to explain the rumor going around Washington that King Hussein of Jordan keeps backing Iraq, he will become six inches shorter than he is now.

An Unknown Painting Thought to Be by Titian

VENICE — A previously unknown work believed to be by the 16th-century Italian artist Titian has been discovered in an art restorer's workshop, city art officials said Monday.

The painting depicts a penitent St. Jerome and appears to be a self-portrait. It belongs to a private collector in the nearby city of Treviso. The officials said the painting had been tentatively identified at a restorer's workshop in Venice by the director of the city's cultural heritage department.

Threading Iran's Dual Film Censorship

By Philip Shenon

New York Times Service

TEHRAN — "Hamoun" is not a typical Iranian film.

A well-to-do Tehran painter, apparently having an affair with her most important patron, tells her Western-educated psychiatrist that she wants a divorce and complains bitterly about the Iranian government's treatment of women. Her despondent husband, accused of beating his wife, seeks comfort from his grandmother, and both agree that religion is a fraud.

"Hamoun" ("The Desert" in ancient Persian) includes an unusual glimpse of the dark side of Islamic fundamentalism in Iran and deals with issues like adultery, the value of psychiatry and the oppression of women by the Iranian government. At one point the painter yells out, "Why don't women have rights in this country?"



Bita Farabi in "Hamoun," which explores dark side of Islamic fundamentalism.

And yet, despite what would seem to be the sort of filmmaking that would infuriate Iranian government censors, "Hamoun" is not only being widely shown in Tehran, but it has also emerged as one of the year's most popular films and the winner of six Iranian movie awards.

More than any other recent Iranian film, "Hamoun" and its director, Dariush Mehrjui, are demonstrating how far Iranian cinema has come since the Islamic revolution in 1979 and how far it still has to go.

"Compared with Western filmmakers, we don't have that much freedom," said the Tehran-born and American-educated director. But, he added, pulling an American cigarette from a package that can be bought on almost any street corner in Tehran, "I don't think you could have made this film three or four years ago."

In a nation that appears to revel in the contradictions created when ancient Islamic law is applied to life in the final years of the 20th century, the Iranian film industry presents one of the most astonishing contradictions of all.

The sorts of fundamental questions about social policy, government and religion that might be considered treasonous if raised by any other group of Iranians sometimes find their way into film.

At the same time, the Islamic censors continue to impose an exacting set of rules about what can and cannot be shown on screen, particularly when it comes to the depiction of Islamic women. For example, women are never allowed to sing on screen, their hair must always be covered, even when they are supposed to be asleep in bed, and men must never touch them. The censorship code "can be a great hindrance," Mehrjui said somberly. "It's too severe."

On first impression, Mehrjui is Hollywood brought to Persia. He is a relaxed, self-deprecating man whose den, with its Scandinavian-style blond wood furniture and its white walls lined with English-language books on the artistry of American films, would fit into a Southern California villa as easily as it does into his airy home in a fashionable neighborhood of northern Tehran.

But the similarity between Mehrjui and the Hollywood directors ends there; Mehrjui, 50, and his Iranian colleagues have had to fight for their craft in ways that Hollywood directors never have.

During more than 20 years of filmmaking, Mehrjui's career has been plagued by censorship, first under the shah, whose exhibition board preferred syrupy melodramas and refused to show how poor people lived, and now under the Islamic theocrats.

His first major film, "The Cow," in 1968, was banned for a year because it dared to portray the gloomy life of a small impoverished Iranian village. Years later, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini singled the film out for praise after seeing it on television.

In 1973 Mehrjui made what is perhaps his most acclaimed film, "The Cycle," but it was not shown in Iran until nearly four years later. "The censors saw it and they had a fit," Mehrjui said of the film, which used the buying and selling of human plasma as a blood bank as a way of depicting urban corruption in Iran.

Not only was the film banned, but so too was Mehrjui, who was prohibited by the shah's government from making feature films in Iran. He went into exile, packing up and returning to California. When it became apparent that the shah was falling, Mehrjui returned to Tehran, only to be frustrated again.

His first feature film after returning home, "The School We Went To," in 1980, was financed by a government education ministry. But after initial screenings, it was banned, perhaps because censors saw a similarity between a central figure in the film — a tyrannical high school principal — and the Islamic clerics who had taken control of the new government.

"I realized it was the same old story," Mehrjui said. "Nothing had changed. It is a characteristic of all revolutions: the domination of a single ideology that cannot stand criticism."

Despondent, Mehrjui went to France. Nearly four years later, homesick for Tehran, Mehrjui began hearing from friends in Iran who said the government had become less hostile to filmmakers. He returned to Tehran once more.

What had happened during his exile, he said, was that young filmmakers had banded together to produce movies as a cooperative and "to make sense of the chaos" by working with the government to determine the ground rules for what was — and what was not — going to be allowed in Iranian films.

The government, he said, "is very sensitive to anything they consider immoral: overt love, coquettishness, a showing off of women." Those restrictions have caused Mehrjui few problems, he said. "I don't go for overt sexuality in my films."

At the same time the censors indicated, they would permit films that touched on some of the themes that the shah and his censors had disdained, including the plight of the poor and the horrors of war.

Perhaps most important, the makeup of the government's censorship boards changed, and some of the more dogmatic Islamic fundamentalists were replaced by officials who were younger, better educated and, at least by comparison with their predecessors, open-minded.

Iranian directors must face two Islamic censorship boards — one for scripts, one for the final film. Mehrjui, who writes his own scripts, said that because he has a strong sense of what the boards will permit, he has relatively few problems getting his movies onto the screen. "It has become a close community" between directors and the government censors, he said. "We now know unconsciously what's allowed and what's not allowed."

That has not eliminated all gray areas, however, and Mehrjui said that in future films he hopes to push to see if the Islamic government will allow the exploration of other subjects that were once taboo. "The hottest issues would be a criticism of Iran in terms of the Iran-Iraq war or showing corruption in part of the government" or "if we showed a mullah who wasn't a good mullah," he said. "I don't know if the government would tolerate it."

But he wants to try anyway. Even "Hamoun" seems remarkable to many Tehran moviegoers this summer. "Remember," Mehrjui said, "just three years ago, you couldn't even show a musician in an Iranian film. And now you can."

PEOPLE

Saddam Hussein Rag: A Message in the Music

Frank Williams Jr. has written a song, "Don't Give Us a Reason," warning Iraq against pushing the United States to war. The country music star said he got so mad listening to the news about the Gulf crisis that he wrote the song and recorded it, all within 18 hours. President Saddam Hussein of Iraq is also catching heavy play on rock radio these days. Disc jockeys across the United States are dubbing over songs to produce parodies. A few examples: "I Am from" to the tune of Sheryl Crow and Garth Brooks' "I Am a Rock," "Blame it on Hussein" to Milli Vanilli's "Blame it on the Rain" and "Hussein" to Eric Clapton's "Cocaine."

In a two-page essay in the September issue of Country America magazine titled, "Why I Love Country Music," President George Bush wrote that "I find myself more relaxed with Reba coming over the airwaves," referring to the singer Reba McEntire. According to a spokesman for Meredith Corp., which publishes the magazine, Bush was approached to write the article, "and we understand most of it is in his own words."

More than 100,000 fans, including President Vaclav Havel, turned out to hear the Rolling Stones, once vilified by the Communist government as a capitalist money-making machine, give their first concert in Prague. Profits from the show Saturday are to go to a project to help handicapped children. Shortly before midnight, an anonymous caller said a bomb had been planted in the stadium. While the group played "Jumpin' Jack Flash," about 100 policemen searched the stage but found no explosives. A parliamentary deputy, the rock singer Vladimir Malin, opened the concert with his band, ETC.

Prime Minister Charles Haughey of Ireland turned poet to open a new radio station, Radio Kerry, on Sunday: "A joyous message I bring this morning / To lift your hearts and banish care. / This is a moment of celebration / Good people of Kerry, you're on the air." The poet Brendan Kennelly declared afterward, "Yes, I like it. It had a good, buoyant rhythm and he read it very well."

PERSONALS

PRAYER: Let foreign military forces withdraw from Kuwait. Let freedom and religious integrity be restored and let the legal rulers come back to power. Let the Arab nations and their neighbors live together in peace, harmony and fraternal co-operation.

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